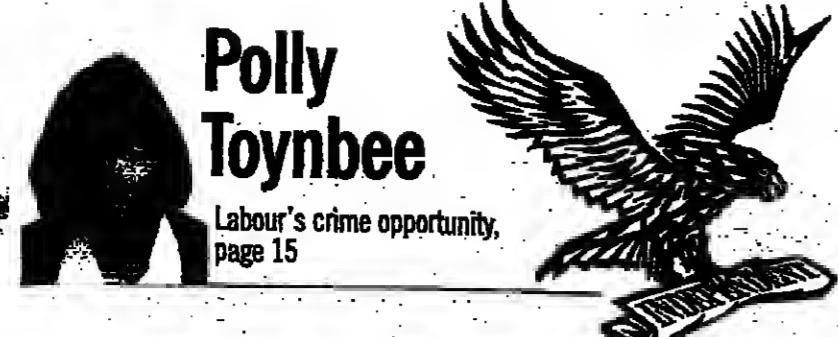


Polly
Toynbee

Labour's crime opportunity,
page 15



Nigel Kennedy, the
monster maestro

Section Two

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THE INDEPENDENT

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MONDAY 24 JUNE 1996

WEATHER Sunshine and some cloud

40p 12p 40p

Germans undermine Major

SARAH HELM
and JOHN RENTOUF

The German government is now working actively to undermine John Major, and believes that Europe must wait for Tony Blair to become Prime Minister before progress can be made on European co-operation.

A senior adviser to Helmut Kohl, the German Chancellor, has told the *Independent*: "We have known for a long time that it will be hard to make more progress with this government. Now we are surer than ever that we must wait for Tony Blair."

But, in a dramatic move which will prolong bad-tempered relations with other EU countries, Mr Major intends to

make domestic political capital from the repercussions of the beef row. He believes German warmth towards Mr Blair will backfire on Labour.

The German strategy is to try to stop Mr Major gaining domestic popularity on European issues: diplomats took a hard line at the Florence summit to avoid the kinds of concessions which the British Government could present as a triumph.

The harder line against Britain will become clear at a mini-summit to be held in Dublin in October on the Inter-Governmental Conference,

which is rewriting the Maastricht treaty. Britain's partners look set to redouble their efforts to reduce the national veto, which will reinforce Britain's isolation.

"The beef war has been very nasty, it will not be forgotten," said a senior German source. Germany's strategy to prevent Mr Major winning domestic support as a result of the European debate, was deliberately deployed in the negotiations on the beef agreement.

German officials were instructed by Bonn to ensure that nothing in the final truce

at Florence could be used by Mr Major for domestic political advantage, said the sources.

Mr Major believes the EU's attempt to punish him for his intransigence over beef by speeding up the timetable for revising the Maastricht Treaty will play into his hands by ending the "shadow boxing" over the EU's future. It was thought that the unexpected plan to draw up a text of a revised treaty this autumn would be awkward for the Government, because it would underline Britain's isolation in Europe. However, Mr Major's advisers say he intends to use

the draft treaty to contrast his policy on Europe with Mr Blair's, in a way that he believes will work to Tory advantage in the run-up to a general election.

Malcolm Rifkind, the Foreign Secretary, yesterday promised more conflict over a European Court of Justice ruling which is expected to confirm the imposition of maximum 48-hour working hours law reclassified under the Social Chapter - which would not apply to Britain.

In strong language calculated to offend other EU countries, he described the original directive as a "disgrace", which attempted to get round Britain's Social Chapter opt-out. But he

ruled out suggestions the Government might refuse to abide by the court's decision.

"We obey the law. We are a party and a Government that believes in the rule of law," Mr Rifkind said. The Government would use its "significant amount of leverage" in talks on the revision of the Maastricht Treaty to try to get the working-hours law reclassified under the Social Chapter - which would not apply to Britain.

He also dismissed suggestions that the EU would seek to punish Britain for its non-cooperation policy by imposing

new sanctions against any country which applies such blocking tactics in the future.

The Belgian Prime Minister, Jean-Luc Dehaene, yesterday suggested withholding payments from EU budgets to non-cooperating member states. But Mr Rifkind insisted that such a change would not apply to Britain.

Tory backbench critics are expected to hold their fire today when Mr Major makes a statement to the Commons about the settlement of the beef dispute, although one leading rightwinger said privately he felt

he had been "marched down the hill again by the Grand Old Duke of York".

Speaking at the end of the Florence summit on Saturday, Mr Major welcomed the prospect of battles over the erosion of the national veto, the powers of the European Court of Justice, and the Social Chapter. Implicitly dismissing the idea of an autumn election, he said: "Very much welcome the decision to seek to bring forward a draft treaty text for discussion in Dublin in December ... The sooner we can actually see the substantive detailed points ... the sooner we can get down to genuine debate rather than some of the shadow boxing that occurs in advance."



Happy ending: Archbishop Tutu shares a moment with his wife, Leah, at the farewell service in Cape Town

Photograph: Mike Hutchings/Reuters

Tutu laughs all the way to retirement

JOHN CARLIN

Nelson Mandela and the Archbishop of Canterbury joined a host of praise-singers at an emotional ceremony yesterday to mark the retirement of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, after 10 momentous years in the lead of South Africa's Anglican Church.

"He speaks his mind on matters of public morality," President Mandela told a packed audience at Cape Town's St George's Cathedral. "As a result he annoyed many of the leaders of the apartheid system. Nor has he spared those that followed him."

Archbishop Tutu, whose reflex is always to see the funny side of things, would have allowed himself a private chuckle at that. For it was Mr Mandela himself whom the archbishop annoyed, barely five months after South Africa's first democratic elections, when he famously declared that the new government had "stopped the gravy train only long enough to get on it."

Mr Mandela responded, calling the archbishop an irresponsible populist. The battle of

the saints took on new heat when the archbishop shot back, saying the president, whom he acknowledges to be the man he most admires on earth, was behaving "beneath his status".

I spoke to Archbishop Tutu at his Cape Town residence a couple of days after the spat. Lying back in an armchair, shoes off, purple-socked feet resting on a velvet stool, he chorled when I asked him whether he

and the president had made up. "I called him, and he called me back later, and I said, 'Why are you attacking me, man?' And you know what? He laughed. He laughed!"

At the recollection of which the archbishop himself laughed so hard he almost fell off his chair. Our interview lasted an hour. When I listened to the tape recording the next day I counted him laughing 30 times

- not the sort of behaviour you would necessarily expect of a man who has won the Nobel peace prize for his central role in one of the 20th century's greatest dramas, the end of apartheid.

But the archbishop, a deeply spiritual man who spends hours of his day in prayer, has too impish a sense of his own ant-like irrelevance in the broader scheme of things to allow him

self the indulgence of pompous self-absorption. On the other hand, he never shied in using the authority of his terrestrial office to condemn injustice. At critical moments in the early part of the decade, when it seemed the negotiated revolution would drown in the conflict that Inkatha and the apartheid security apparatus were inflicting on the townships, he interceded to cool passions.

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After spear-wielding Inkatha warriors massacred 42 innocents in Boipatong in June 1992, Mr Mandela broke off talks with the government of FW de Klerk. At the mass funeral Archbishop Tutu savaged the government - but also, with finely calculated oratorical daring, he made the crowd laugh, reminding them with fibs at the absurdity of legally enforced racial discrimination of the basic principles they all shared. "What if people were denied the right to vote not because of the colour of their skins but because they had big noses?"

Later, when the time came to celebrate, no one captured the mood better than Archbishop Tutu. Election Day, 27 April 1994, had been "like falling in love", he said. Introducing Mr Mandela to a huge Cape Town crowd on the day he was officially sworn in as president, the archbishop cried out: "We of many cultures, languages and races are becoming one nation. We are the Rainbow People of God ... One man inspires us all, one man inspired, the whole world. I ask you: welcome our brand new state president, out of the box, Nelson Mandela!"

what matters most. By contrast, he argues that "the real fabric of society is the spiritual and moral fabric, and this is the kind of currency that makes civilisations function".

He adds: "We've lost a language of blame and sin. The word sin is now a word dying, leaving our vocabulary. Was it Oscar Wilde who said the distinction between man and animal is that man knows how to blush? I wonder if we've lost a sense of shame. And I think that's something we need to work on."

Full interview, page 14

Interview: Carey's new crusade

ANDREW MARR

Britain needs to recover a sense of shame and sin or risk the collapse of our kind of civilisation, Dr George Carey, the Archbishop of Canterbury, warns this morning.

In an interview with the *Independent*, conducted just before the Archbishop flew to South Africa for yesterday's ceremony, Dr Carey calls - in some of the strongest language to come out of Lambeth Palace for several years - for a crusade to re-moralise the country.

Speaking with remarkable frankness, the Archbishop confesses to doubts about his ability

to influence the country. "When I am at my most pessimistic I seriously doubt whether we can actually do more than blow trumpets from castle tops and warn." But he believes there is a new openness to religion, after the anti-religious ride of the Sixties. Dr Carey says he hopes the millennium - which he describes as "a Christian party to which everyone is welcome" - will encourage a revival of spirituality. He believes politicians have given the impression that "economic order and prosperity and consumerism" is

what matters most.

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QUICKLY

Alarming charge
The police are planning to charge up to £35 for answering burglar alarm calls to more than 800,000 homes and businesses.

Page 5

Comprehensive hope
John Major's ambition to have grammar schools in every town will not mean the end of comprehensive education, a government adviser said. Page 2

Live fast, die young
British women are working harder, marrying more frequently and dying younger than any of their European counterparts, a survey says. Page 2

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news

Grammar schools' plan attacked

FRAN ABRAMS
Education Correspondent

The Prime Minister's ambition to have grammar schools in every town will not mean the end of comprehensive education, a leading Government adviser said yesterday.

Dr John Marks, a member of the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority and a campaigner for more selection, said non-selective schools doing well would be bound to survive.

Labour dismissed John Major's grammar schools expansion, saying it would cost £2bn.

and highlighted a Cabinet split on the issue.

Dr Marks said the change would be a gradual one. "There may well be a return to more grammar schools, but it won't mean the end of comprehensives. There are many good comprehensive schools. I don't see why they should not remain where they are doing a satisfactory job," he said.

However, he argued that the new policy would raise standards. Even the average secondary modern school had exam results better than the worst quarter of comprehen-

sives, he said. There should be more technical schools as well.

Others believe the policy will have little effect. Only a handful of the existing 1,000 apted-out schools have applied to select pupils by academic ability, and most head teachers say they are happy with the current system. In Solihull and Lincoln, plans to bring back selection in grammar schools from scratch have founded because of parental opposition.

As new details emerged of the proposals, Labour claimed Gillian Shephard, the Secretary of State for Education and Employment, had been forced into

"an extraordinary U-turn" by Downing Street. For years she had supported non-selective schools, said Labour's education spokesman, David Blunkett.

The reform, first announced by Mr Major last September, will give the funding agency for grant-maintained schools the power to build new grammar schools from scratch.

Mrs Shephard is believed to have supported the abolition of grammar schools in Norfolk after she became a Conservative councillor there in 1977. More recently she has expressed reluctance to return to

a selective system. Just after her appointment she told the *Independent*: "I am much more interested in specialist schools than in selective schools."

Yesterday Mr Blunkett said Mrs Shephard had been an enthusiastic opponent of selection. "Now she seems ready to embrace a philosophy which will appear the Downing Street policy unit. She will have very little credibility indeed when she puts forward her proposals in the Commons (tomorrow)."

An analysis carried out for Mr Blunkett shows that it would cost £2bn to build 200 new

grammar schools to educate 60,000 pupils - less than 2 per cent of the secondary school population. The money would be enough to pay for full-time nursery education for all three and four year-olds.

Yesterday Labour party officials said the plans could create surplus places in other schools and upset existing non-selective schools which had suffered cuts in funding for building work. Neither the Department for Education and Employment nor Conservative Central Office had any comment to make yesterday.

British women top for death and divorce

REBECCA FOWLER

British women are working harder, divorcing more frequently and dying younger than their continental counterparts, according to a survey published today that suggests they have benefited least from the feminist revolution.

Instead they have the lowest life expectancy at 79 years compared with 81.3 in France, the highest number of jobs, with 65 per cent of British women in work; and more children, with the highest fertility rate in Europe at 1.75 per woman.

In sharp contrast women in France are receiving more further education as well as living longer; and Italian and Spanish women are having fewer children but they are also the least likely to work.

Steve Cordingley, a spokesman for Market Assessment Publications, which conducted the analysis, said: "It appears that women in Britain have had the worst deal from feminism in the past 10 years. They're not getting as much further education, but they're still working harder and dying younger." He added: "There would appear to be a link between the high numbers of women working and dying younger, because it is also high in Germany where a large number of women have jobs."

The report shows the stress has apparently taken its toll on British women. While they marry youngest, on average aged 27.7, they have the highest number of break-ups. Four in seven marriages ending in divorce compared to the European average of one in three.

For women the place to be is France. More than half receive further education, 54 per cent outnumbering men. Increasingly they opt to live with their partner, rather than marry, bringing down the divorce rate, but they still have a high fertility rate, 1.65 per woman.



Rock of ages: Punk fans took the children along to Finsbury Park, north London, last night for the Sex Pistols comeback show. Photograph: Tony Buckingham

When nurses wield the knife

LIZ HUNT

It is one of the oldest games in the book, the "doctor/nurse" game, played out in surgeries and operating theatres across the country every day, and essential to the smooth-running of the health service.

The game - actually a recognised theory of nursing first described in the Sixties - revolves around a nurse making a decision about a patient, taking action and then, with the collusion of the doctor, "pretending" that the doctor did it all to appease hospital authorities, the law and the public.

Now it appears the game has moved on, with the case of a 47 year old nurse, Gillian Erickson, who has carried out more than 200 unsupervised operations. She has the blessing of

What's wrong with a sister performing surgery? asks Liz Hunt

the Wirral Hospitals Trust, the surgeon at Clatterbridge Hospital where she works, and the agreement of each patient. Collusion, it seems, is no longer necessary.

The revelation has generated the predictable knee-jerk reaction from some quarters. One senior consultant claims that people are now being treated "worse than animals which can be operated on only by a qualified vet."

That this is a minority view was reinforced by the wholehearted hacking of doctor's leaders yesterday, who agreed with Mrs Erickson's assertion

that an experienced nurse is more competent than a junior doctor in training.

Dr Mac Armstrong, Secretary of the British Medical Association, said: "This is entirely consistent with what we believe is development of the relationship between the professions."

Dr Armstrong said that the consultant had the ultimate responsibility for a patient from diagnosis to discharge. A doctor would not delegate to anyone that he or she thought was incompetent.

Dr Vivienne Nathanson, head of Professional Services at the BMA, said: "Doctors are

not about individual treatment or tests, but the overall view and management of the patient and their condition." Mrs Erickson, who has more than 20 years experience as a theatre nurse, is unusual in that she initiated her new role at Clatterbridge.

She put forward a business proposal in which she carried out certain surgical techniques unsupervised - including biopsies, and the removal of cysts.

The proposal was rapidly accepted and consultants now refer some patients to Mrs Erickson for her own surgical list.

Previous schemes, in which nurses assist surgeons, tend to change all that, and with the increasing demand for health care services, and the continuing crisis in medical staffing, she'll be the first of many.

Plea on doctor-patient sex

A plea for greater understanding for doctors who have sex with a patient is likely to be one of the most controversial motions debated by the British Medical Association conference in Brighton this week.

A doctor who develops a relationship with a patient in his care risks censure by the public and the profession, disciplinary action and is threatened with suspension from the medical register.

But this is an outdated view, according to Dr Michael Crowe, a GP from Leicestershire, who has tabled the motion calling for an "official warning" in place of threatened suspension by the General Medical Council.

Supporters say that the careers of numerous GPs and consultants have been ruined by affairs between consenting adults which turn sour, and the patient - usually a woman - has

sought revenge by making a complaint. Dr Mac Armstrong, secretary of the BMA, said that the debate proposed for Wednesday, would test whether an doctor-patient relationship had progressed to a state of equality, such that it could be assumed that a doctor was exploiting a vulnerable patient. "What the movers of the motion seem to be saying is, is it right, that as a matter of principle, any doctor who gets involved with a patient is doing wrong."

Those who oppose the motion say that a doctor-patient relationship can never be equal, and that severe disciplinary action is a necessary deterrent to protect the vulnerable. They say the motion challenges the very heart of the Hippocratic Oath.

The debate is prompted by the recent case of Dr Keith Pilsbury, a GP in Lincolnshire, who was suspended from the

register after an affair with a patient. A petition signed by 1,000 patients had no impact on the GMC. His son, also a GP, then committed suicide and Dr Pilsbury was subsequently reinstated.

The meetings will also decide if the BMA is heading for a collision with the Government over private financing of the NHS. More than 500 representatives will debate the issue tomorrow, amid fears that it is the start of creeping privatisation of the NHS, and the whitewashing of standards of care and accountability demanded.

Dr Armstrong said current developments - a private finance initiative, market testing of clinical services, and the purchasing of treatment or services from private providers - could be viewed as "the very insidious process of piecemeal privatisation."

Leading Article, page 13

Bill vote has hidden agenda

PATRICIA WYNN DAVIES

A fierce battle is looming in the Commons tonight when the Government tries to amend the 1689 Bill of Rights so that Neil Hamilton, the former minister forced to resign over "cash for questions" allegations, can pursue a libel action.

Labour has already made it clear that it will not support a little-noticed clause that has been added to an otherwise largely uncontroversial Defamation Bill to bring about the fundamental constitutional change.

The proposal in the Bill would allow MPs to waive the centuries-old Parliamentary privilege under which freedom of speech in Parliament cannot be questioned in a court. But MPs would still not be able to be sued over what they say in

Parliament about outsiders. The attempt to alter Article 9 of the Bill of Rights, which conferred the immunity, came after the High Court stopped Mr Hamilton, the former corporate affairs minister, and the lobbying company Ian Greer Associates, from suing the *Guardian*. The newspaper's lawyers, Lovell White Durrant, successfully argued that Article 9 would prevent it from properly cross-examining Mr Hamilton over alleged payments from Mohamed al-Fayed, the chairman of Harrods, and allegations that he failed to declare an expense paid stay in the Ritz hotel in Paris, owned by Mr Fayed.

MPs are technically being given a free vote tonight but Tory backbenchers will be left in no doubt of the Government's strong support for amendment in a secret whipping operation.

The amendment from the recently appointed Law Lord, Lord Hoffman, was passed following two failed attempts, after Government business managers packed the chamber with sympathetic Tory peers, including Margaret Thatcher. But Lord Hoffman was away from the division lobby at the crucial time and ended up not voting for his own amendment.

Mr Hamilton has argued that MPs are "uniquely hobbled" by Article 9, but even some Tory MPs have privately voiced fears that the new right to sue over reports of their Parliament-related activities is too extensive, too weighted towards Parliamentarians and could produce a host of unintended consequences.

SIGNIFICANT SHORTS

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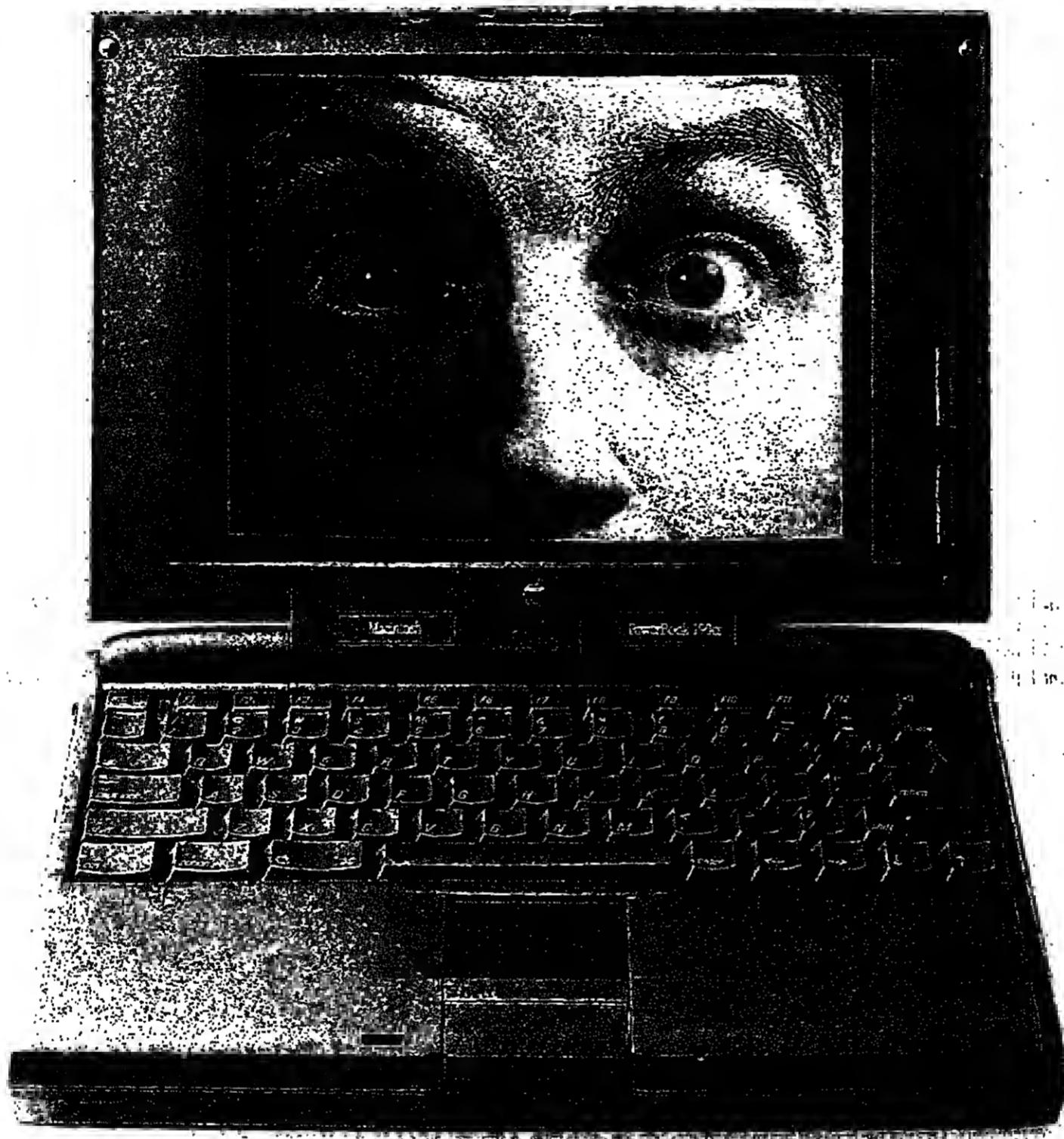
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Police to charge for burglar alarm calls

JASON BENNETTO
Crime Correspondent

The police are to charge up to £35 for answering burglar alarm calls to more than 800,000 homes and businesses, under proposals drawn up by chief constables.

They are also considering demanding an extra fee of between £50 and £100 to respond to alarms that have been falsified by the police because of continued false calls outs.

Although any new charges will be made to the alarm companies these will be passed on to homeowners and businesses. The extra cost in England and Wales could be more than £28m.

Police chiefs are determined to levy charges for "remote signalling alarms" which are connected to their stations because the cost and time spent on answering calls, most of them false, is rapidly rising.

Last year the number of signalling alarms increased by 7 per cent to about 800,000. Of the 1.2 million call-outs 1.1 million proved to be false.

The police also believe they are providing the security industry with a commercial service free of charge. However the association that represents alarm manufacturers and installers, yesterday threatened to take legal action if costs were forced on them without agreement.

A working party for the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) has been looking at the issue for the past 18 months and has recently formulated two main options they plan to introduce by the end of the year.

At present almost all signalling alarms - as opposed to devices that simply make a noise - are connected via a telephone system to central monitoring stations owned by the security in-

stallers. When the alarm is triggered the company makes checks before telephoning the police. Each alarm holder has its own dedicated reference number, provided by the police.

The police provide this service free, but they are now arguing that supplying a reference number and giving installers priority treatment are extra facilities and should be paid for.

The police working party's main proposal is for companies to pay for each line. According to the British Security Industry Association the cost has been put at a few pounds to £35 a number. The police and security industry admit that any extra fees will be passed onto the consumer.

The second proposal is for a charge to be made for each call-out when a householder or businessperson has failed to mend an alarm which repeatedly malfunctions. The BSI said proposals range from £50 to £100 a call.

IRA cache find raises fears of bomb campaign

ALAN MURDOCH
Dublin

The weekend discovery of 30 kilos of Semtex and an arsenal of other bomb-making equipment in an underground bunker on an Irish farm has reinforced Dublin fears that the IRA has returned to a sustained campaign of violence.

In personnel terms the raid last Thursday that led to the arsenal find on the farm near Clonaslee in Co Laois was a serious blow to the IRA. Two senior members in its Southern Command were caught making mortar bombs. One is a quartermaster, the other an engineering expert.

The huge haul was a triumph for gardai, their biggest breakthrough against IRA logistics operations for three years. The 14ft by 8ft bunker, which served as a terrorist warehouse, was found at the end of a tunnel leading from a concealed entrance in a garden.

The bunker yielded the full range of explosive components: 40 mortar tubes, Semtex, large amounts of ammonia and nitrate used in home-made explosive, along with switches, timers, detonators, guns, tail fins and other mortar parts.

On Thursday 16 mortars were found in a ground level workshop. Detectives believe the farm may have been manufacturing bombs for another "spectacular" in Britain.

Three Dublin men each faced two charges in Dublin's anti-terrorist Special Criminal Court late on Friday of having mortars illegally and with intent

to endanger life. John Comaty, 35, from Balbutcher Park, Ballymun; Gabriel Cleary, 52, from Piarstown, Tallaght; and Bryan McNally, 54, from Knockrimm Park, Foxrock, were remanded in custody until tomorrow.

A fourth man, Michael Cully, 46, of Clonaslee, Co Laois, was remanded on Saturday, charged with possession of 30 kilos of Semtex explosive with intent to endanger life.

The Taoiseach, John Bruton, again appealed for a new IRA ceasefire yesterday but warned that after the Manchester bombing, the Adare murder of a garda detective and the Laois bomb factory find, any cessation "would have to be really convincing... not a tactical matter, but involving a genuine, permanent and irreversible commitment to peace."

Privately Irish Government sources are pessimistic about the chances of a new ceasefire and angry that they were apparently misled by Sinn Fein leaders who indicated a new ceasefire could be achieved if a date for all-party talks was set and former US Senator George Mitchell installed as chairman.

Dublin ministers feel let down that, after exerting enormous pressure on London, including at one stage walking out of Anglo-Irish negotiations, the promised co-operation never materialised.

Asked if Sinn Fein leaders had simply been refused a ceasefire by the IRA, one Dublin source said it was believed "they are not willing to ask in case the request is refused".

Health insurer to buy care

NICHOLAS TIMMINS
Public Policy Editor

Private health care is about to undergo many of the revolutionary changes that the NHS has seen. PPP, Britain's second biggest health insurer has started.

The changes are essential to the continued survival and growth of private health care where too many hospitals are chasing too few patients and charging unacceptably high prices, Dr Harry McNeilly, PPP's medical director said.

At the same time, doctors working in the private sector do not face the same checks on their clinical skills and practice that they face when working in the NHS. Dr McNeilly said - an

omission which raises issues about the quality of care in private hospitals.

To achieve the change, PPP is planning to turn itself from a medical insurer which reimburses claims, to an active purchaser of health care, operating more like a health authority or GP fundholder.

Over the coming months, PPP is to set up a "preferred provider" network, contracting with perhaps only 150 out of the 300 or so private hospitals and NHS pay bed units, to provide care for its members.

The move could mean closure for those units and private hospitals which fail to obtain "preferred provider" status. The result should be "higher quality and lower prices" for private patients, Dr McNeilly said.

Too many hospitals were chasing too few patients, he said.

Bed occupancy is running at an average of only 50 per cent in private hospitals, producing unacceptably high prices.

Market forces cannot cut costs because private patients do not choose their hospital on the basis of cost. They are referred to a specialist by a GP.

In the private sector, Dr McNeilly said, clinical practice remains "very much the province of the individual medical specialists" who is not subject to the audit of results that is becoming commonplace in the NHS. That meant too high a rate of "inappropriate intervention and use of diagnostic services" and raised issues about the quality of care.

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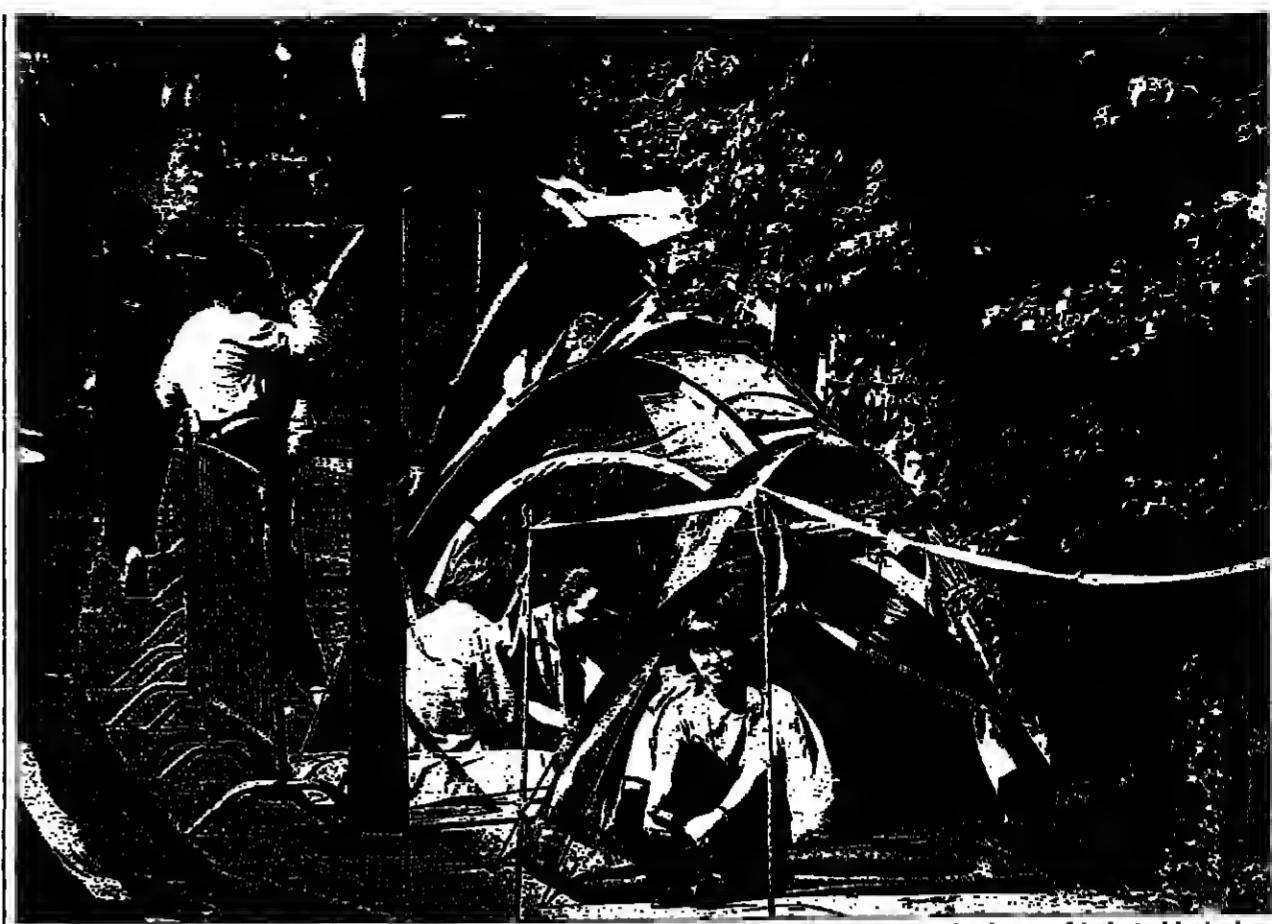
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Photograph: Edward Sykes

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6
news

Siberian 'magic' that can mend a club foot

Surgeons in Britain have been pioneering a radical technique to correct club foot in babies and make dwarfs walk taller, some 50 years after the procedure was developed in Stalinist Russia.

The treatment involves breaking legs, embedding steel pins deep into the flesh and bone and fixing a circular frame onto the patient which looks as if it comes from a Meccano set.

Invented by a Siberian doctor called Gavril Ilizarov to repair the broken limbs of soldiers wounded at the end of the Second World War, the procedure was hidden from the West until the fall of the Iron Curtain.

The technique has been developed in Britain by Rowan Pool and Robert Siminoff, consultant orthopaedic surgeons at St Peter's hospital in Chertsey. They have treated around 500 people at their Ilizarov clinic - 25 of them for club foot - since

they first tried it in 1988.

One of the most recent success stories in Britain, which is the focus of the BBC1 science series *QED* on Thursday, is William Knight, who became the youngest person to have the operation at six months old after being born with club foot.

"He looked perfect until a nurse told us she suspected club foot," said his mother Madeline. Within three days, she and her husband Alan had an appointment at the Ilizarov clinic and were surprised by the possibilities offered by the individually fitted frame, which costs around £1,000 a time. After discussions, the Knights went ahead with the treatment, but not without reservations.

"It was either the frame or an

operation snapping the tendons and stretching the foot into position with a failure rate and scar tissue problems. When we were shown the frame and told about drilling pins into his leg, we did feel rather wobbly," Mrs Knight explained.

Apart from correcting club foot, particularly in children, the treatment is used to repair fractures which fail in knit together normally and would otherwise lead to a life long disability, make short people taller and treat bone infections - such as osteomyelitis.

"I cannot get over the fact that I set out to treat a bent leg and the patient comes back after six weeks with it straightened," said Mr Pool. The technique was developed when,

trying to find a way to mend broken bones, Ilizarov, a doctor in a Siberian hospital on his first posting at the end of the war, came up with the idea of putting a frame onto the damaged leg. Using a bicycle wheel and spokes he found it held the broken bone together.

It was only when a patient, intend



Best foot forward: William, now 15 months, joined by his mother Madeline, father Alan and sister Katie, proudly shows off his scarred left leg, which for 11 weeks was in the 'Meccano' frame, as pictured below Main Photograph: Tony Buckingham

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"There's no stopping my little boy now"

The metal rods drilled into William's lower left leg and ankle, combined with the frame bolted to them, made it almost impossible for the Knights to share a cuddle with their young son. Of more concern though, were the screams William would give if he caught the frame on furniture and the open wounds that often became infected and painful.

But after 11 weeks - to great relief - the frame was removed and his leg put into plaster. "The leg was very sensitive for a couple of weeks, but soon improved and on his first birthday William took his first steps. I burst into tears. After that there was no stopping him," said Mrs Knight.

William, now 15 months, may need further surgery, thanks to a Siberian magician, should always lead a normal life.

DAILY POEM

Sometimes

By Sheenagh Pugh

*Sometimes things don't go, after all,
from bad to worse. Some years, muscles
faces down frost; green thrives; the crops don't fail,
sometimes a man aims high, and all goes well.*

*A people sometimes will step back from war;
elect an honest man; decide they care
enough, that they can't leave some stranger poor.
Some men become what they were born for.*

*Sometimes our best efforts do not go
arisis, sometimes we do as we meant to.
The sun will sometimes melt a field of sorrow
that seemed frozen: may it happen for you.*

Sheenagh Pugh was born in 1950 and lectures at the University of Glamorgan. She has published seven collections of poetry with Seren, the small Welsh press founded in the early 1980s, with the help and encouragement of Dannie Abse, to give voice to English-language writers in Wales. Seren has just published a 15th anniversary issue of its poets and poetry, *Burnt the Bracken*, in which this appears

Plan to improve

Women celebrate successful storming of a male bastion

Twenty years ago a tradition was challenged. Louise Jury reports

On one of the capital's most imposing riverside club terraces, Margaret Wingfield will tomorrow drink a toast to the 20th anniversary of the falling of a male bastion.

Mrs Wingfield, 84, led the charge through the barricades when the National Liberal Club became the first traditional London club to permit women full membership. "I think it was very important," she said yesterday.

The relative recency of the victory may seem remarkable.

In 1976, the Viking spaceship was showing earthlings close-up views of Mars. But the battle was long-fought. Mrs Wingfield, president of the Liberal Party in 1975, had applied to join previously and was told the "facilities" were not good enough.

Yet when the time came, there was not even a vote because nothing in the rules banned women, according to Stephen Bonarjee, 84, the current club chairman and a former BBC current affairs editor.

"When it was founded in 1882, everyone assumed there wouldn't be any [womeo]. But the debate was ... lively. I think is the word. There were certainly older members who were rather disturbed by the whole idea."

Today, the National Liberal Club has 2,000 members, about 250 of them women. Many of them will be at tomorrow's anniversary reception, on the House of Commons terrace

with Betty Boothroyd, Speaker of the House of Commons, as guest of honour.

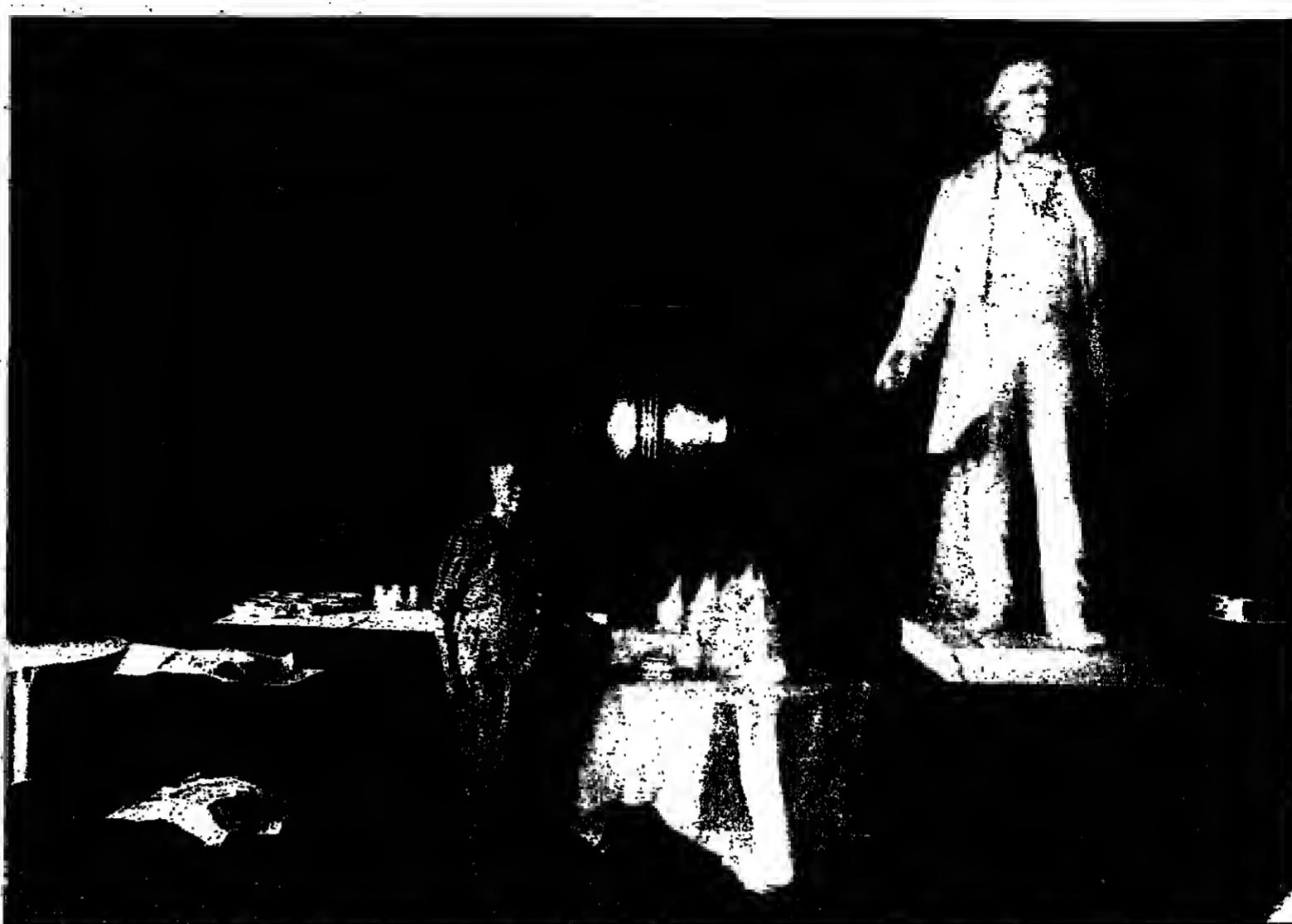
Baroness Seear, the Liberal Democrat's deputy leader in the Lords, who will be among them, said: "I was glad that the club opened up. But I myself don't believe that entry to a club has been in any way nearly as important as entry into jobs." Neither does she object to men and women having clubs of their own.

With membership to the Garrick, Beefsteak and others denied to them, many women have done just that, founding organisations such as Club 2000, the City Women's Network and Business and Professional Women (BPW) UK.

"The men have been at it longer, but I think we'll get there," Janice Bancroft, BPW's president said.

The Garrick rejected the idea of allowing women in when it came up some years ago. Brian Masters, author of books on the killers Dennis Nilsen and Jeffrey Dahmer, defended the club. "You can have a club which has mixed male and female members and it could be as good as or better than the Garrick, but wouldn't be the Garrick. Conversation is the important thing. Conversation with ladies is always different."

"It only excluded 'ladies' because it always had done, he said. "It's not a justification, but it's good enough for me."



Pioneer: Margaret Wingfield at the Liberal Club, where until 1976 'the facilities' were said to be unsuitable for women

Photograph: Geraint Lewis

Landmarks in the battle

Female incursions against all-male bastions.

1996: Gay Kellaway becomes the first woman trainer to win at Royal Ascot and Alex Greaves is the first woman to ride a horse in the Derby.

Women are admitted as members' guests to the clubhouse pavilion at Lord's cricket ground for the first time in more than 200 years - but for one day only. The occasion is the first women's one-day cricket international between England and New Zealand.

1994: Women become an integral part of the Royal Navy as the Wrens is abolished.

1992: The Church of England's General Synod votes for the ordination of women priests.

1991: Helen Sharman beats male contenders and becomes the first British person in space.

1981: The first female cox in the history of the Boat Race, Susan Brown, steers Oxford to victory.

1976: Angela Rippon becomes the BBC's first female newsreader.

Thames strategy: River can help revitalise London

Riverbank plan to boost capital

NICHOLAS SCHOON
Environment Correspondent

The Government launches its attempt to resuscitate the Thames today, ordering local councils to reject the kind of faceless, unfriendly development which has disfigured London's river for decades.

New buildings beside the river in the capital must be aimed at bringing it back to life - for use in transport, recreation, commerce and housing.

The Secretary of State for the Environment, John Gummer, will issue new planning guidance for the Thames from Windsor to the North Sea. His interventionist stance brings the Government into conflict with Tory-controlled Westminster City Council.

The council intends to stop taking its annual 200,000 tons of refuse by barge down to a landfill site in Essex, and instead haul it by road to a electricity-generating incinerator - which will mean 15,000 extra lorry journeys in central London a year. Under these plans, the Gatwick Road depot where the rubbish is loaded onto barges - a lucrative site next to Chelsea Bridge - will be developed commercially.

The Government is proposing that Gatwick Road and more than 30 other wharves should be safeguarded from any development which prevents them being used for freight transport.

This controversial proposal, which is subject to consultation,

is intended to safeguard London as a working river and ease congested roads.

Under the draft planning guidance issued today, the 30-mile stretch of river from Hampton Court in the west to the Thames Barrier - flanked by 13 borough councils - will become a special planning zone.

In granting planning permissions, councils will have to ensure that new developments allow public access to the river-side. On the ground floor, each new building will have to have some element to welcome the public, such as restaurants and shops. No net loss of trees or greenery will be allowed.

Mr Gummer told the *Independent*: "We've never managed to have an overall Thames strategy. We haven't treated the river properly for decades. There's been far too much mediocre, insensitive development which has turned its back on this great river. It's the jewel in the crown of London and South-east England."

"We're very fortunate with the timing of the new guidance. A lot of development of important, vacant sites has been held back by the recession, but now we're expecting quite a lot of planning proposals to come forward." They will have to conform with the guidance, on which there is now four months of public consultation.

In writing the document, prepared with the help of an advisory committee including architect Sir Richard Rogers,

property developer Stuart Lipton and journalist Simon Jenkins, one of the biggest problems was to insist that only "high quality" buildings went up by the river, while accommodating sharply different views on what constitutes good architecture.

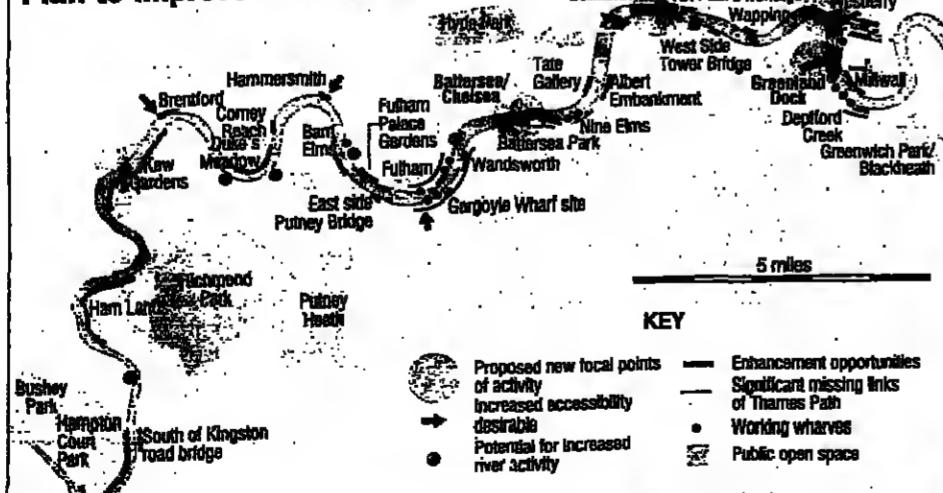
For instance, one of the senior civil servants involved considers Bankside power station - attracting much enthusiasm as it is converted into a new Tate Gallery - a ugly structure which should be demolished.

The Government's answer is to set out a series of hurdles for developers who must consult with local residents and councils across the river, as well as the borough that their site is in. They will also have to talk to the Royal Fine Art Commission about their plans to demonstrate that they have put their proposed building in context, a move that will discourage high-rise buildings next to the river.

Mr Gummer wants to encourage mixed use to bring life to the riverbank, with developments which mingle housing, offices, shops, restaurants, open space and leisure facilities. He also wants increased use of the Thames for public transport, to ease congestion on the roads.

The guidance advocates new or upgraded piers, with good linkages with the existing bus, railway and Tube networks. But past failures have shown that if the Thames is to carry commuters, this will require public subsidy - and the guidance makes no commitment to that.

Plan to improve the Thames



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news

Term-time clash: New study says desire for good times, not financial hardship, is causing dramatic rise in part-time work

Students 'choose jobs over classes'

Increasing numbers of students are under-performing academically because they have part-time jobs during term time. However, according to a senior academic at the London School of Economics (LSE), they spend their earnings not on the basic necessities of food and rent but on "luxury items" such as £70 trainers and alcohol.

The National Union of Students (NUS), which found in a survey last year that students in higher education were taking up part-time work and damaging their studies in the process, is angered by Dr Catherine Hakim's suggestion that the reason for this is over financial hardship.

Dr Hakim, who enraged feminist academics earlier this year with her claim that women were still happy for their place to be in the home, publishes her research on students and employment today, just days after the LSE became the first higher education establishment to announce that it agreed in principle to increase student fees following government grant cuts.

The number of British students with part-time jobs has doubled over the last decade, she says. Between 1984 and 1994 those with part-time jobs jumped from 343,000 to 671,000 and from 7 per cent to 11 per cent of the workforce. She argues that different attitudes to work, money and

education. "Ethnic minority groups generally are less well off than the dominant white community, yet they are more likely to ensure that their children devote themselves exclusively to their studies," she writes. "Separate cultures which protect them to some degree from the dominant white consumer culture probably helps in this process."

Dr Hakim interprets the rising workrates among young people of 16-18 at secondary schools and in higher education as further evidence that the "new trend" has causes "far wider than a simple reduction in student grant".

Commenting on her paper, she said: "It is quite clear that some people accept that you live in reduced circumstances while you are a student while others don't accept the view of a slightly ascetic life... The quantity of money that passes the bar never ceases to amaze me..."

Asians drink far less, Chinese drink far less. It's directly relevant to the cultural argument."

The NUS said: "We dispute any suggestion that students don't go out to work from financial necessity. Our survey clearly shows that in so many cases students are going out to work just to pay the rent. Often students are working just to eat."

Reports: Clare Garner



The happy worker: Annika Bosanquet has worked a part-time job an average of 11 hours a week throughout her time at the LSE, and says it has helped rather than hindered her academic work

Photograph: Edward Sykes

Help rather than a hindrance

Part-time job

Annika Bosanquet, 22, has worked an average of 11 hours a week for £4.21 an hour throughout her time as an anthropology undergraduate at the LSE.

Tipped for a 2:1 degree, Annika, from Newcastle, feels her part-time job in the student union helped, rather than hindered, her academic work. "If you do something totally different it fuels your studies."

Her parents give her £500 a month to cover £65-a-week rent plus living costs; the £35 wages supplement her social life and clothes budget. "I'm quite a picky shopper," she said. "I spend a lot of money on one piece and make it last. We're talking designer clothes - in the sale."

In her final year, her earnings went towards going out rather than clothes. "I think that because I'm in London and there's so much to do I should take advantage of it," she explained.

"A lot of people I know have a couple of really big nights out in the week which would cost them £50 a night. I prefer to have quite a few nights out and not spend that much but once every couple of months I'll go out for a big night. That means going out for a drink and a meal, a taxi fare, the entrance fee to a club, and drinks when you are in there. If you're buying something new as well, it's £100."

Keeping worry to a minimum

To Mankash Jain, a second-year management student at the LSE, working and studying are "two totally different things". His parents go to great lengths to ensure he never has to take a part-time job which, they believe, would conflict with his degree.

"It's not the same as spoon-feeding or cushioning. It's making sure I don't have anything to worry about except for the work," said Mankash, 22, from Birmingham, whose parents pay his £70-a-week rent plus a weekly living allowance of £60.

"Asians place much more emphasis on learning. I was brought up with the idea that if you go to university you should concentrate and direct your attention to studying. It's the mentality that you're at uni-

versity to work and if you do work properly you will get a better job and that will pay dividends later on."

Another reason Mankash is "in pocket", he says, is that he doesn't drink much. "I do drink, but not on a regular basis. It's the way I've been brought up. None of my family drinks. The majority of students' money is spent on drink. Some people can easily spend up to £200 in a week."

Mankash has never run into debt or taken out a student loan.

"I'm a lot more careful with my money. While students seem to

spend a lot of money on drink

and be a lot more carefree, I'm

not saying it's wrong or anything. There's just a distinction."



Parents help: Mankash Jain is free to concentrate

Hunger hinders pupils

FRAN ABRAMS
Education Correspondent

As many as 1 in 10 pupils goes to school without breakfast, according to a survey by a nutritionist from King's College, London. The study of 250 children aged between 10 and 13 found that almost one-third of those who had had no breakfast felt tired at school and a quarter did not want to work at all.

The findings by Dr Anthony Leeds confirm teachers' long-held suspicions that children who are hungry perform less well academically. Staffroom anecdotes also suggest that pupils are unmanageable after eating lunches with high contents of fat and additives.

Dr Leeds' preliminary findings are based on a questionnaire answered by pupils in

primary and secondary schools in Hertfordshire and Devon. He hopes to conduct a full study of 10,000 children later this year.

Some nutritionists have suggested that glucose levels regulate brain functions, including memory and learning. They say children's ability to recall and use new information, verbal fluency and attention span can be affected if they have eaten nothing since the night before and their glucose levels are low.

Academics in Denmark have shown in a controlled study that children who eat a good breakfast make fewer mistakes in addition tests. They have also found that those who have eaten find it easier to remember things quickly and accurately.

Dr Leeds stressed that his findings were preliminary and that more work was needed before they could be confirmed, but added that schools should consider offering breakfast to pupils. Increased parental choice might have led to pupils travelling to schools further from home, he said, and some might arrive hungry even if they had eaten before they left.

"There is evidence that whether or not children have had breakfast does affect things like concentration and to some extent behaviour," he said.

Nutritionists recommend that children should always have something to eat before leaving home in the morning, such as cereal, fruit, fruit juice or wholemeal toast. Some schools in Britain already offer breakfast to pupils, and in the United States one-fifth of children eat breakfast at school each day.

Access visits put mothers at risk of men's violence

GLENDA COOPER

Controversial proposals to bar violent fathers from seeing their children are put forward in a study published today as social scientists warn that men who have subjected their partners to domestic violence can use coercive tactics when taking their children from visits.

But probation officers and a charity supporting fathers warned that the study focused on a very narrow group and to deny contact across the board was "a recipe for disaster".

Children are suffering abuse and emotional distress as a result of enforced visits to violent fathers, according to the report supported by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, which criticises some professionals for allowing contact with fathers to take precedence over the safety and welfare of children.

A study of 53 women and 77 professionals in England over two years, suggested that mothers were under pressure to agree to unsafe arrangements rather than be viewed as "hostile" or "unreasonable" by the

courts. The mothers, who had all experienced domestic violence, were contacted through referees, professionals and support groups. All but three said they had been assaulted by ex-partners when taking or collecting children from visits.

Most had at first wanted their children to go on seeing their ex-partners, with some feeling contact was one way of ensuring that fathers took some responsibility for their offspring. A few still considered their former partner was a "good father".

However, in cases where contact led to renewed threats and violence women had found it difficult to convince the courts that there were good reasons for ending the arrangements. And rather than taking children's objections to seeing their father at face value, lawyers and court welfare officers often interpreted them as the result of emotional pressure from the mothers.

"Carla" left her husband in 1988 after seven years of abuse but contact with the children was maintained, despite threats of violence to her. "I wanted them to have good access, you

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Cairo summit: Leaders fear Oslo accord is dissolving in face of Netanyahu's intransigence

Disunited Arab chiefs cling to 'land for peace'

ROBERT FISK
Cairo

No words, it seems, can sum up the hypocrisy that now surrounds the ashes of the Middle East "peace process".

There were the Arabs at their Cairo summit yesterday, solemnly pleading for a continuation of the American-brokered land-for-peace "process" and warning that they might have second thoughts if Israel did not honour its commitments. And there were the Israelis, whose new Prime Minister, Binyamin Netanyahu, has already vetoed the agreed land-for-peace formula, claiming that the Arab summit's final communiqué represented a threat to peace.

"For the process to continue successfully and productively this threat [to Israeli security] must be removed," Mr Netanyahu said in a prepared speech. "This is the most elementary, fundamental requirement for talks about coexistence and peace." He went on to say that the peace process "cannot be made hostage to other prior conditions" - a reference to the Arab demands that the new government agree to trade more land for peace.

What the Cairo communiqué actually said was that the Arabs remained committed to the process of peace on which they had embarked at Madrid in 1991; total Israeli withdrawal for total peace based on UN Security Council resolutions 242, 338 and 425, along with an end to Jewish settlements on Arab land and a "just and comprehensive peace" that would give Palestinians a state and a capital in Jerusalem. The Arabs "would have to reconsider their steps towards Israel in the framework of the peace process" if there was any Israeli abandonment of commitments.

"What do you expect Arabs to do? What do you expect Palestinians to do?" an exasperated President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt said after the summit ended. "Much more violence? Much more terrorism?"

The truth, as many Arab journalists were quick to point out in private, is that the Arab nations (all, apparently, bar Jordan) believe that the five years of negotiations with Israel and the Oslo agreement are dissolving in the heat generated by Mr Netanyahu's three "Nos" -

no to a withdrawal from Golan, no to a Palestinian state and no to a Palestinian capital in east Jerusalem. We still want peace, the Arabs were saying yesterday, but do not blame us when the pot boils over.

They will be blamed, but that is another story. What mattered yesterday was the text of their final communiqué and the long, sometimes furious arguments which produced it. None of them objected to the prelude, which called upon the rest of the world to ensure Israel kept to its side of the bargain; there was much talk of commitments, agreements, vows and "international legality" - the latter to prevent the construction of yet more Jewish settlements on Arab land. Then came the para-

graph which proved how disunited the Arabs still are. King Hussein of Jordan had given an address of such fury that other delegates dubbed it "Netanyahu's speech"; he attacked "terrorism" in all its forms, adding - in a clear attack on Syria - that "we must confront the problem of cross-border terrorism, through condemnation, pursuit, and through the liquidation of pockets of terrorism, wherever their dens may be ... and whoever may be their organisers or victims". Jordan says Syria tried to send saboteurs across the Jordanian-Syrian border and sympathises with Turkey's complaints of Syrian support for Kurdish guerrillas. But the King's words also appeared to condone Israel's April assault on Hezbollah guerrillas which led to the massacre at Qana.

President Assad: Angered by King Hussein's attack

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The Syrians were incensed, and their Foreign Minister, Farouk al-Sharaf, bitterly condemned the King's speech in a private talk later with his Jordanian opposite number.

But when the King and President Hafez al-Assad of Syria later met alone, Mr Assad apparently persuaded King Hussein that it was more important to present a unified front to Israel's new government than give Israel ammunition to attack an Arab neighbour. This led to the communiqué's statement that "while the Arab leaders condemn attempts to label legitimate national resistors terrorists, they condemn all kinds of terrorist and destructive acts ... and express support ... for efforts to hold an international conference on terrorism".

Attempts by King Hussein to rouse the Gulf Arabs against Iran - and thus indirectly against Iran's Syrian ally - were softened to say that "Iran should respect the sovereignty of Bahrain and stop any destructive acts aimed at Bahrain" and should end its occupation of three Emirati islands. Syria, which wanted a condemnation of Turkey, not only for its new military agreement with Israel but for its tampering with the waters of the Euphrates, had to be satisfied with an expression of "concern" about the Turkish-Israeli pact and a hopeless request to Turkey to "reconsider" its new agreement "so as not to affect the security of Arab states."

Having largely got what he wanted in the communiqué, President Assad chose not to say a word at the summit. But President Mubarak expressed his delight at what he considered a Jordanian-Syrian rapprochement and an invitation to Arafat by Mr Assad to visit Damascus on Syria - that "we must confront the problem of cross-border terrorism, through condemnation, pursuit, and through the liquidation of pockets of terrorism, wherever their dens may be ... and whoever may be their organisers or victims". Jordan says Syria tried to send saboteurs across the Jordanian-Syrian border and sympathises with Turkey's complaints of Syrian support for Kurdish guerrillas. But the King's words also appeared to condone Israel's April assault on Hezbollah guerrillas which led to the massacre at Qana.

Lyons — The Germans have an expression, "like God in France", to describe a state of luxurious contentment. Raymond Barre, the 72-year-old politician and academic who is experiencing a second political honeymoon as mayor of France's second city, Lyons, seems a personification of the expression just now.

This week, all being well, he will experience one of his finest hours, as host to the heads of the world's seven richest nations in the annual summit of the Group of Seven industrialised countries.

Not an overtly proud or arrogant man, Mr Barre will bask unashamedly in the glory of the occasion and plans to show off his magnificent 19th century town hall to the full. Washing and brushing have been the very least of what has been done in preparation. A week ago, there was still sheeting and cables all over the floors; you shared the lifts with trestles and paintpots, and the smell of varnish was everywhere.

Thursday night's opening G7 dinner, with a secret menu that will boast the quintessence of Lyons' renowned cuisine, is to be held - weather permitting - in the loggia courtyard. The three day event will be wound up with a sound and light show over the Rhone for the citizens of Lyons, to compensate them

for the inconvenience of having their city taken over by the security requirements of seven international leaders.

When you meet Mr Barre, it is evident that, one year into his mayoralty, he is having a whale of a time. A former university economics professor who has moved easily between the academic and political worlds for the best part of 40 years, he is best known for serving as Valery Giscard d'Estaing's prime minister from 1976-81.

But he has weathered the decades better than Giscard, and so has his politics. His statements are still closely watched and widely respected. He manages to combine a free-market pro-European stance with a practical social conscience - a combination that is increasingly being accepted by governments across Europe.

Mr Barre is small and his round face and smile give a general impression of roundness -

but he is actually quite dapper, despite his reputation as a bon viveur. He has the directness and spontaneity of someone who is at ease with himself and his authority.

Just over a year ago, Mr Barre thought he had made his exit from French politics by declining to stand for the presidency. He said at the time and still says that the only purpose of having power is to achieve objectives, and he judged that "the political and social conditions would not have allowed me to pursue the policies of reform and change that I thought necessary for the French economy". Almost as an afterthought, he adds: "And you know, I don't regret it one bit."

So why, given the standing and influence he enjoys, not just in France but in Europe, did he return to frontline politics by standing for the post of city mayor - albeit of a city which is the second largest in France and

which prides itself on having been the capital of Roman Gaul? "I didn't really stand at all," he corrects my terminology. "A deputation of local MPs and councillors approached me and asked me whether I would head their list for the council election. In fact, I had quite other plans."

Mr Barre was approached as someone who had been the local MP since the late Seventies and chairman of the regional council since the mid-Eighties.

But their main consideration - and the reason Mr Barre agreed to their request - was the political mess in which the city of Lyons then found itself.

The high-flying incumbent mayor, Michel Noir, had just been convicted of corruption, and Lyons had some of France's toughest housing estates and social problems on its periphery which were on the brink of exploding. If the political right was to retain power and the reputation of Lyons was to be rescued, the right's candidate for mayor had to be someone who enjoyed respect, if possible, nationally and across parties.

Mr Barre's list won a first-round victory. His original plan - it transpired when I posed this "indiscret" question - had been to retire. Now, he has another three and a half years of political struggle ahead. Mr Barre, however, seems to regard

it as a gentle and rather pleasurable form of combat - until you see him in the council chamber. Here, he rules with a rod of iron and some tart repartee. When a National Front councillor objected to the choice of music for the sound and light show as "too international" (with Bob Dylan), the mayor snapped back: "So what do you call Dehusy, then?"

With the G7 summit on his doorstep (a gift from Jacques Chirac after he became president), he wants Lyons - a city regarded in France as inward-looking and hidebound despite its mercantile history - to promote itself to the outside world.

"But that depends on the Lyons continuing the impetus," he says, adding, as though this sounds too negative, "And I believe they will."

■ More than 5,000 people marched through Lyons on Saturday to protest about the holding of the G7 summit in the city and to demand that "other voices" be heard. The marchers represented trade unions, groups campaigning against unemployment, racism, environmental pollution, Third World indebtedness and a host of other ills. The march was led by the dissident bishop and gay rights campaigner Jacques Gaillot, flanked by actors singing "When will the revolution come?"

Lyons' lion lays out the welcome mat

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As France's second city prepares for next week's G7 summit, Mary Dejevsky speaks to its proud mayor, Raymond Barre (left)

for the inconvenience of having their city taken over by the security requirements of seven international leaders.

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For the closing ceremony, the diplomatic image makers had come up with a different wheeze: instead of signing a joint declaration, Mr Kim and Mr Hashimoto exchanged footballs. This was an allusion to the main topic on the agenda, the 2002 World Cup which, after a fierce bidding war, has been jointly awarded to both countries.

When the two men had their first meeting on the Korean island of Cheju on Saturday, the gimmick was sartorial - instead of business suits and ties, the leaders wore sports jackets and open-necked shirts.

The intention was to promote a chummy, informal atmosphere. But East Asian politicians never quite cut the casual look, and the pair ended up looking more like elderly

models in a menswear catalogue.

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When the result was announced last month, sports officials and candidates in both countries found it difficult to hide their dismay. But both leaders put a brave face on it yesterday.

"While embracing the burden of the past," said Mr Hashimoto, "we are trying to work out a future dream by taking advantage of the World Cup."

In the course of their talk, the two cautiously reaffirmed the standard bilateral positions on fisheries, security and North Korea. But the summit was more about avoiding controversy than beating out new policy.

"The burden of the past", for instance, is code for Japan's colonial occupation of Korea, the painful memory of which constantly dogs Seoul's relations with Tokyo. Its harshest manifestation is the issue of the "comfort women" - Chinese, Europeans and, overwhelmingly, Koreans, 200,000 of whom were forcibly recruited into military brothels dedicated to servicing Japanese soldiers.

The subject was not touched

on in the meeting between the two leaders but it inevitably arose in the post-summit press conference. "From the bottom of my heart I apologise and I am regretful," Mr Hashimoto told reporters. "At no time has women's honour and dignity been hurt more than in this case."

Such regrets have been voiced before, and the Prime Minister did not touch on the keenest controversy of the moment, the question of compensation for the 300 or so surviving women. After years of procrastination, the Japanese government has set up a private fund, which offers \$18,500 (£12,250) to each of them. Comfort women's organisations reject the sum, insisting on official compensation.

■ Trevor Horwitz

How to become proofreader

By Trevor Horwitz

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international

- Russian election: Confident of youth vote, the President targets the elderly

Buoyant Yeltsin woos war veterans

HELEN WOMACK
Moscow

Heeding the advice of his aides that he cannot afford to be complacent, Boris Yeltsin hit the campaign trail again at the weekend, seeking to build on the slight advantage he gained in the first round of the Presidential election and secure victory in the run-off.

Meanwhile his Communist opponent, Gennady Zyuganov, appearing somewhat disoriented, announced he would brief the press but not travel any more between now and 3 July, leaving grass roots activists to campaign for him in the provinces. He is talking much about coalitions, suggesting he might like a consolation place in government if he loses the presidential race.

Confident that the younger generation will support him, Mr Yeltsin, who took 36.28 per cent of the vote on 16 June, set out on his latest tour to win over people old enough to remember the Second World War and those who are still nostalgic for the Soviet Union. He went first to Brest in Belarus on Saturday for celebrations to mark the 55th anniversary of the Nazi invasion of Soviet territory.

Moscow has always made much of the anniversary of the defeat of German Fascism with parades on 9 May every year. But this was the first time there were such grand ceremonies in remembrance of the thousands who fell in the first hours of fighting because Stalin had purged the military in the 1930s and left his country unprepared for war.

In paying extra attention to the veterans, Mr Yeltsin was openly wooing the constituency of Mr Zyuganov, who won 32.04 per cent of the first round vote. Appearing alongside Alexander Lukashenko, the leader of Be-

larus, Mr Yeltsin was also putting across the message that his policy of seeking economic integration among former Soviet republics is more realistic than Communist dreams of rebuilding the Soviet Union.

Then yesterday Mr Yeltsin toured Kaliningrad, formerly Königsberg, a little enclave of Russia squeezed between Lithuania and Poland. He used the opportunity to promise glory and better conditions to naval officers in the port of Baltiisk and to issue warnings to Nato not to expand eastward and to the neighbouring Baltic states to respect the human rights of their ethnic Russian majority.

Here he was targeting the constituency of retired General Alexander Lebed, who won 19 per cent support in Kaliningrad compared with the 14.52 per cent he took nationwide to come third in the first round. Mr Yeltsin has co-opted him, making him his National Security Adviser. On Saturday General Lebed sought to explain to his followers why he had abandoned his independent position and joined Mr Yeltsin. "I told Yeltsin, 'there is no reason to love you. There is not the slightest reason to love you. But you are the carrier of that idea (looking to the future, not the past) and therefore I will stand with you.'

Members of Yabloko, the party of the liberal economist, Grigory Yavlinsky, also have little love for Mr Yeltsin, largely because of the war in Chechnya. At a weekend congress they were trying to decide whether they could bring themselves to support him. Some 63 delegates said they would vote for the President, two promised their support to Mr Zyuganov and 87 decided to register a protest vote. Mr Yavlinsky himself gave conditional support for Mr Yeltsin.

Before the first round, Mr Yavlinsky had a good opportunity to bargain with the President. But Mr Yeltsin's aides said the younger candidate approached the Kremlin leader with sweeping demands.

Since Mr Yavlinsky came only fourth with 7.34 per cent of the vote, and since Mr Yeltsin is now co-operating with General Lebed, the economist, who is widely admired in

the West, has lost much of his relevance to the election. He will probably be lucky now if he is offered the job of Finance Minister in a new government under Mr Yeltsin.

Photograph: AP

Looking back: Boris Yeltsin speaking in Brest, Belarus, at the weekend to mark the 55th anniversary of the Nazi invasion of Soviet territory.

LOCAL HEROES

No 22: Naoto Kan

up to the threat posed by the AIDS virus. By 1983, it was clear that among the most vulnerable groups were haemophiliacs, who could catch the virus from infected anti-clotting blood products. But it was not until 1985 that treated blood products were licensed for use in Japan.

In the interim, nearly 2,000 people were infected; hundreds have since died of full-blown AIDS. Victims had long sus-

pected that the bureaucrats had delayed the licensing deliberately to give Japanese pharmaceutical companies time to catch up with their United States competitors. But the health ministry insisted that it had made a genuine mistake.

Enter Naoto Kan. As a member of Sakigake, the smallest of the three parties in Japan's uneasy coalition, his appointment to the health ministry was a mere token. Mr Kan was known as a moderate liberal, something of a political outsider, with a record of modest campaigning on welfare issues. Nobody was prepared for the impact he could have.

Within a few weeks he had

taken the ministry by the scruff of the neck. He personally ordered a search for the "lost" documents, which proved that the ministry had known all along about the dangers of infected blood; in a matter of days, they were found. More incriminating documents turned up last April, and a long-drawn-out legal settlement granting compensation to victims and their families was settled with unexpected speed.

The moment for which he will always be remembered came on a bitter winter's day last February. A group of haemophiliacs and their supporters, had been keeping a vigil in tents outside the ministry. Mr Kan in-

vited them inside and, watched by millions of television viewers, offered a full apology on behalf of the government.

Recently Mr Kan announced his imminent departure from Sakigake to join a new opposition party to be formed by a group of young politicians. But Japanese politics is unused to forceful individuals; parties still depend on the support of rank-and-file politicians who, it is said, are suspicious of Mr Kan. In cutting through the red tape, and winning the admiration of voters, he may have alienated the very people who hold the key to his political future.

Richard Lloyd Parry

Japan's maverick wages war on political corruption

Tokyo — Virtue and power, in Japan even more than in most countries, are terms mutually incompatible, and until recently the list of heroic politicians would hardly have filled the back of a medium-sized postage stamp.

Election to the two houses of the Japanese Diet is a grubby business requiring family or business connections, large amounts of cash, or all three. No one, or almost no one, remains untainted, and the air of weary desperation which this induces in the public was vividly demonstrated in local elections last year. Faced with the choice between the established parties and a pair of former television comedians, voters expressed

their disgust by electing as governors of Tokyo and Osaka the Japanese equivalent of Norman Wisdom and Ernie Wise.

Naoto Kan, 43, is no comedian. If anything, he is a rather serious and quick-tempered man, a professional politician who in January became Health and Welfare Minister. But, in the space of three months, he has risen almost out of nowhere to the kind of personal popularity that money alone can never buy.

Mr Kan's apotheosis came about through his role in one of the saddest of the scandals which plague the Japanese bureaucracy. In the early Eighties, governments worldwide were facing

gradual iodine loss due to the use of iodine tablets from

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How to become a proofreader

by Trevor Horwood

Do you envy people who love their jobs? I did too, so a few years ago I looked for a way to combine my love of books with the need to earn a living. I was a successful sales manager, so I needed something that paid well.

I discovered that every year thousands of new titles are proofread and copy-edited by freelancers working from home throughout the country. I also discovered that neither a qualification in publishing nor a publishing background was necessary to become a freelancer. Today I earn over £20,000 a year as a freelance proofreader and copy-editor, and I love every minute of it. My only problem now is deciding which assignments to accept since I am regularly offered more work than I can cope with.

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obituaries/gazette

Andreas Papandreu

Andreas Papandreu dominated the political life of Greece, whether in or out of office, for much of the second half of the century.

In a political system in which charisma is all-important, he was endowed with it in abundance. He himself revealed that when he was admitted to Harefield Hospital, in Cambridgeshire, in 1988 for treatment of the heart complaint that plagued his later years he was showered with telegrams from devoted supporters offering their hearts for transplantation. Few political leaders in Greece have commanded as much loyalty from supporters, or aroused such execration on the part of opponents.

For all his modernising rhetoric, Andreas Papandreu was very much a politician in the traditional Greek mould. He came from a political family and showed no qualms about appointing his own son, George, to a key cabinet post in his own government. He created his own party, Pasok (Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement), which was held together by the force of his own personality and which he led in a distinctively authoritarian fashion. He clung to power in an advanced old age. Patronage and *roupheta*, the reciprocal dispensation of favours, continued to underpin the political system. All that changed in this respect was that, whereas patronage had hitherto been dispensed by individual deputies, under Pasok it was tightly controlled by the party machine over which Papandreu himself maintained a firm grip. The ultimate purpose of political power continued to be to capture the machinery of government so as to reward voters cum clients.

Papandreu was born in 1919, the son by his first marriage of George Papandreu, who was himself twice prime minister. In 1938, during the quasi-Fascist Metaxas dictatorship, Andreas Papandreu,

while a student at the University of Athens, was arrested for purported Trotskyism. Following representations by his father, he was allowed to leave for the US. There he studied economics at Harvard, became a US citizen and served briefly in the US Navy. After the Second World War he acquired a formidable reputation as an academic economist, teaching at the universities of Minnesota and California (Berkeley), where he became chairman of the Department of Economics. In 1951 he married as his second wife Margaret Chant, with whom he had three sons and a daughter.

In 1961 he was invited to return to Greece to serve as director of the newly founded Centre for Economic Research and Planning by the conservative prime minister, Constantine Karamanlis, the other dominant figure in Greek politics during the past 40 years. Soon after his return to Greece his father became prime minister for the second time, heading a centrist government. In the 1964 election the younger Papandreu himself entered parliament as a deputy for Attica, his father's birthplace, and was appointed Minister to the Prime Minister and subsequently Alternate Minister of Co-ordination, a key economic ministry.

In the hermetic Athenian "political world", Andreas Papandreu's meteoric rise to high office led to charges that he was a "parachutist". Numerous feathers were ruffled, not least among those who aspired to eventual leadership of the Centre Union and who saw in the younger Papandreu a serious rival for the eventual succession to his father, at that time 76. (Age has never been an obstacle to political advancement in Greece and politics have a strong dynastic element.)

During the political turmoil of 1965-67 that followed the downfall of his father's government, Andreas Papandreu emerged as the highly visible



An old-fashioned political fixer: Papandreu for Greece (second from left, front), flanked by François Mitterrand for France, Margaret Thatcher for Britain and Poul Schlüter for Denmark, at a 1980s meeting of EEC ministers

Photograph: Rex Features

leader of a "centre-left" grouping within the Centre Union. At the same time he was dogged by allegations that he had been involved in a "Nasserite" conspiracy in the army. It was fear that George Papandreu might be swept back to office in elections scheduled for May 1967, in which case his son might have been expected to be the real power in the new government, that was one of the factors that precipitated the Colonels' coup of 24 April 1967.

The younger Papandreu was immediately arrested and his father, who died shortly afterwards, placed under house arrest. Andreas Papandreu was subsequently allowed to leave the country, after pressure mobilised by fellow economists and applied at the highest levels of the government. J.K. Galbraith, has recorded that President Johnson told "those Greek bastards [the Colonels] to lay off that son-of-a-bitch [Papandreu]—whoever he is". Papandreu settled first in Sweden and then Canada.

While in exile he rapidly moved away from the basically social democratic views that he had espoused in Greece towards the much more radical national liberationist views found in the Third World. The bitterness and frustration he felt at the crudely interventionist American role in Greece before the coup and the aid and comfort the US were prepared to give to a regime at once absurd, brutal, incompetent and unpopular found expression in *Democracy at Gunpoint* (1971).

Following the downfall of the Colonels' regime in 1974, Papandreu announced the formation of Pasok, based on his own PAK and another anti-dictatorship group, Democratic Defence, in continuing fiery socialist rhetoric with a heady mix of nationalism directed principally against Turkey, Papandreu found a winning formula. He demonstrated an uncanny ability to articulate the aspirations and, perhaps more significantly, the fears, resentments and frustrations of a significant proportion of the electorate.

Uniquely for a party outside the far left, Pasok rapidly built up a country-wide organisational structure. But despite Pasok's seemingly democratic structures, Papandreu ruled the "movement" in a thoroughly autocratic fashion. Disidents, including almost all those who entered Pasok from

Likewise he was disillusioned by the pusillanimous policy of Nato and the EEC towards the first military dictatorship to be established in Europe since the Second World War.

Papandreu's "short march" to power began in 1974 when Pasok secured a 14 per cent share of the vote and ended when in October 1981 he swept to power with a 48 per cent share of the vote. During this seven-year period and against the background of the disintegration of the traditional centre, Papandreu significantly toned down the radical and initially Marxist-inspired rhetoric of Pasok, just as he shed the "Zivago" or polo-necked sweater for a more respectable collar and tie. The heady mix of nationalism, populist demagogic and socialist rhetoric, encapsulated in the slogan "Allegi" ("Change"), gave Papandreu one of the largest pluralities in post-war Greek political history and Greece's first socialist government.

Once in power Papandreu fell far short of delivering his promise of radical social transformation and a decisive break with the cycle of dependence that had characterised the history of the Greek state. Attempts to introduce socialism, albeit in the idiosyncratic form espoused by Papandreu, in a country in which some 50 per cent of the workforce is working on its own account and in which the "black economy" represents some 40 per cent of all economic activity were perhaps doomed to fail from the outset.

Critics wrote off the 1980s as

the "lost decade" but Papandreu did introduce some long-overdue reforms. Civil marriage was introduced; changes family law improved the status of women; the wartime resistance was recognised; Communist refugees who had fled to the Eastern bloc at the end of the civil war were allowed to return (even if the Slav Macedonians remained out in the cold). In general those who had been marginalised by the post-war war anti-Communist state ceased to be second-class citizens. These were by no means negligible achievements.

Papandreu also established a national health service but, like many of his compatriots, himself preferred to seek medical treatment abroad.

Much as he evidently, and successfully, enjoyed baiting his European and American partners, and for all his bitter criticism of the organisations, there was never any realistic prospect of Greece's withdrawal from Nato or the EC, not least because Greece, which had joined the EC early in 1981, soon became a principal beneficiary of EC subsidies. Ironically, indeed, it was subventions from the EC that helped Papandreu maintain his grip on power.

He secured a second term in 1985 with a comfortable 46 per cent share of the vote. But a price had to be paid for the economic profligacy of the first Pasok administration in the form of a harsh programme of belt-tightening. The government's unpopularity was exacerbated

by scandals which reached the highest levels of government; by the prime minister's serious health problems; and by the abandonment of his wife of 30 years for Dimitra ("Mimi") Liani, an Olympic Airways stewardess barely half his age. These and other factors contributed to his defeat in the election of 1989.

But although he was beset by a sea of troubles that would have destroyed a less nimble politician Papandreu's share of the vote in the three elections that ensued in 1989-90 never fell below 39 per cent. Once out of office he was indicted on charges of telephone-tapping and corruption. He was acquitted, albeit by a narrow majority.

American friends more qualified than I told me subsequently that it was a solid mainstream book of the sort that might have been written by any solid mainstream liberal academic. Then I learnt that for more than 20 formative years between 1939 and 1959 he had lived in exile in America, and been head of department at Berkeley. His friends from that period included such worthy Democratic citizens as J.K. Galbraith, Walter Heller and Hubert Humphrey. These were the people who prevailed on President Johnson in 1967 to lean on the Colonels to release Papandreu when he was arrested, and in real danger, after the Fascist coup.

After that first meeting, Papandreu always found time for a chat when I was in Athens. I was never able to take his disruptive anti-Western posturing very seriously. He was a charismatic patronage politician in the Balkan mould, who clothed himself in Third World rhetoric to get on at home.

The last time I saw him performed was during a bitterly fought election campaign. Searchlights on him, he strode alone to a platform in Constitution Square in Athens before a well-drilled audience of perhaps half a million, bearing identical banners with centrally approved slogans. He folded his arms across his chest and orated for several hours before stalking off again to orchestrate chants of "Pa-pa-dreou". For a moment one smelled tin-pot totalitarianism in the air.

But he was not the stuff of which dictators are made and he took his subsequent defeats and rehabilitation, if not gracefully, at least in the democratic Greek tradition. It will be a long time before another Greek politician bestrides the international stage as he did.

Richard Clogg

Some years before Andreas Papandreu became prime minister of Greece in 1981 I visited him for the first time at his pleasantly chaotic, old-fashioned home in Kastri, the Hampstead of Athens, writes John Torode. He was, appropriately enough, a hospitable, slightly scruffy academic figure wearing an old tweed jacket.

At that time he was widely regarded as some sort of Third World Marxist monster, flinging with the PLO, Colonel Gadaffi and the East German intelligence services. He was building his Pan-Hellenic Socialist Party on the basis of anti-American, anti-EEC rhetoric.

At the end of a splendidly gossipy afternoon during which he had discussed American politics with an informed an

audience, he was asked what he thought of the new government.

Andreas George Papandreu, politician born Chios 5 February 1919; Founder and Chairman, Pan-Hellenic Liberation Movement 1968-74; Founder and President, Pan-Hellenic Socialist movement 1974-96; Prime Minister of Greece 1981-89, 1993-96; Minister of Defence 1981-86; married first Christina Rassias (marriage dissolved), secondly 1951 Margaret Chant (three sons, one daughter, marriage dissolved 1989, thirdly 1989 Dimitra Liani; died Athens 23 June 1996.



Papandreu on his leaving Greece for France in 1968, following the Colonels' April 1967 coup

Photograph: Hulton Getty

Ray Lindwall

Ray Lindwall was the best fast bowler I ever saw. His faster ball was of such speed that it has been matched since the Second World War only by Michael Holding and exceeded only by Frank Tyson.

He could also employ a vicious bouncer, ferocious enough to embarrass or endanger – before helmets and body padding – batsmen of the class of Hutton, Compton, Weekes and Worrell. Add an outswinger that moved late enough to have even the great players committed to a breakaway savage enough to break a shin, a deviant slower ball and assorted cutters.

All these were the end-product of Lindwall's art. It emanated from a most beautiful, rhythmical run-up and delivery, the left shoulder turning into the batsman, the final delivery strike ending with a leap as the right arm completed the circle, leaving the man facing praying, in the fraction of a second left

to him, "Oh, dear Lord, what's next?"

In those days the great professionals did not rush into print with little-tattle about their foes or themselves: we shall never really know how frightened were Hutton and Compton, the two English champions who, for a decade, bore the brunt of Lindwall's reign of terror. We do know that Compton had admitted visiting visits to "the little room" before going out to face Lindwall and his fast-bowling comrade Keith Miller.

Hutton, less physically strong and with a left elbow damaged in a wartime accident, would emerge from the pavilion even paler than usual. We can surmise that Hutton would be most concerned with his dignity, Compton determined to give as good as he got. The quartet between them, in the years 1946-56, provided some of the most entrancing cricket in the game's history.

As a child Lindwall saw Larwood bowl. He joined the St George club in Sydney, whose previous roster included the names of Bradman and Bill O'Reilly. He learnt to bowl in his street, at paraffin tins. He served with the Australian army in the Solomon Islands; a harrowing experience.

England had some inkling of what to expect when Hammon took the first post-war touring team out in the autumn of 1946. An Australian Services team had toured England in the victory year of 1945 and virtually matched England, blow for blow. The shock came in Australia when only two of that fine Services side, Miller and Lindwall, were considered good enough for the full Australian team. Among the new names was Lindwall.

He was then 25, just under six feet, fair-haired. What might he have done had he played Test cricket earlier? Lingering malaria, followed by chicken

pox, limited the impact he had on that series, Australia winning 3-0, but when he arrived in 1948 he was soon conscious of a new mega-star.

He took 27 wickets in Tests, 86 on the tour. Bradman used him in controlled bunts, although any incoming batsman knew that he would have to face either Lindwall or Miller very quickly. The new ball being then available after 55 overs.

Jack Robertson, a Middlesex opener good enough to play for England, ended in hospital with a broken jaw. Compton was carried off, in the middle of a courageous 145 at Old Trafford, after trying to hook a no ball. Yet Lindwall, compared with the West Indians of recent vintage, used the bouncer sparingly; it was the ace up the sleeve, not the cost.

World-famous, he returned to complete his education on using the seam by playing in the Lancashire League. The league's amateurs were simply

not good enough to get near his stock ball, the outswinger, and, when he showed his exasperation one day at Nelson, he was told, in forthright Lancastrian terms from the pavilion: "Bowl at 't bloody stumps."

He made three tours of England and visited South Africa, West Indies and New Zealand. For 12 years he took the cherries for Australia. He was a more than useful batsman as his record in 29 Tests against England proves: 759 runs at an average of 22 (and 114 wickets, also for 22). He will be remembered at the Oval for his 6-20 when England were dismissed for 52.

He was amiable and polite with admirers off the field. I once asked for his autograph, explaining that an associate editor of the *Daily Express* in London thought him "the best there ever was". Ray looked startled at such an assertion, then grinned: "Tell the bloke to come over. I'll buy him a beer."

One noted cricket writer summed up his career: "Most of his cricket was played at the highest level, on the best wickets and against strong opposition. His skill, unaccompanied by histrionics, was something for the connoisseur to savour."

He moved from NSW to Queensland in 1955, was appointed MBE and became a successful florist in Brisbane. His lifelong friend and colleague, "Nugget" Miller, a feted guest during the current Test match at Lord's, will grieve.

Whenever Lindwall began his limbering-up exercise in the outfield the ground became electric as the crowd waited for Bradman to call him up to bowl. It was the signal that Australia were about to go nuclear.

Derek Hodgson

Raymond Russell Lindwall, cricketer, born Mascot, New South Wales 3 October 1921; married (one son, one daughter); died Brisbane 23 June 1996.



"What's next?" Lindwall in the first match of Australia's 1953 tour

Deaths & Deaths

BIRTHS

MR MICHAEL BRAY: To Caroline (nee Sundland) and Crispin, a son Alistair Guy Frederick, in Park on 20 June 1996. All our love, Mum and Dad.

ANNOUNCEMENTS FOR GAZETTE BIRTHS, MARRIAGES & DEATHS (Births, Adoptions, Marriages, Deaths, Memorial services, Wedding anniversaries. In Memoriam should be sent in writing to the Gazette Editor, The Independent, 1 Canada Square, Canary Wharf, London E14 5DA, telephone 0171-293 2011 or fax to 0171-293 2010, and are charged at £5.50 a line (VAT extra).

BIRTHS
Sir Anthony Barrowclough QC, former Ombudsman, 72; Lord Braine of Wheatley, former MP, 82; Mr Claude Chabrol, film director, 66; Mr Robin Caulier, Director-General, Forestry Commission, 62; Mr Garfield Davies, trade union leader, 61; Mrs Anita Deo, novelist, 59; Mr Roger Dobson, Director-General, Institute of Civil Engineers, 60; Mr Jack Dunnnett, former president, Football League, 74; Mr Mick Fleetwood, rock musician, 54; Professor Sir Fred Hoyle, writer and astronomer, 81; Miss Betty Jackson, fashion designer, 47; Mr John McCormick, Controller, BBC Scotland, 52; Professor John Postgate, microbiologist, 74; Mr Gary Waller, MP, 51; Miss Mary Wesley, author, 83; Sir John Whifford, former High Court judge, 83.

ANNIVERSARIES
Births: St John of the Cross, mystic, 1542; William Henry (W.H.) Smith, bookseller and politician, 1825; Ho-

er. Details of the "Trinity Hall 2000" Development Campaign in celebration of Trinity Hall's 850th anniversary, the college's foundation was announced at a meeting in Hall. A reception and luncheon for the college's benefactors was held afterwards in the Fellows' Garden.

APPOINTMENTS
ROYAL ENGAGEMENTS
The Duke of Edinburgh visits West Opposition Member of Parliament, Sir Christopher Chataway, Conservative, and his Chichester constituency, to open the new Royal Observatory at the site of the old in 1996. The Prince Royal attended an event for opening and prospective members of the Royal Observatory at the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, London SE1. The Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Philip, the Air Captain of the Royal Observatory, and the Royal Observer Corps, attended the opening day of The Royal Observatory, Greenwich, London SE1.

A refusal to issue export licences to permit the application of live sheep to Spain, on the ground that they would suffer treatment in Spanish slaughterhouses which was contrary to Directive (EC) 74/57 on stunning animals before slaughter, constituted a quantitative restriction on exports contrary to art 4 of the EC Treaty. Such a restriction on the free movement of goods could be justified under art 36 on the ground of protecting the health and life of animals but not

whereas, as here, EC Directives provided for the harmonisation of measures necessary to achieve this. One member state was not entitled to adopt its own measures designed to obviate a breach by another member state of rules of Community law.

A member state was obliged to make reparation for damage caused to an individual by its breach of a rule of Community law where the rule infringed was intended to confer rights on individuals, the breach was sufficiently serious and there was a direct causal link between the breach and the damage sustained, such reparation to be made according to the contrary in *Re Addlestone Linoleum Co* (1887) 37 Ch 191 where *obiter*. Leave to appeal to the House of Lords was granted.

Misrepresentation
Soden v British and Commonwealth Holdings plc (in admin): CA (Straw, Hirst, Peter Gibson LJ) 15 May 1996.
When a member of a company claimed damages for negligent misrepresentation by the company's directors as to its value, inducing him to purchase shares in the market, the damages were not due to him in his character of a member within the meaning of s 74(2)(f) of the Insolvency Act 1986. A sum due as damages for misrepresentation could not be said

Doctors: a prescription for retaining our trust

Ob, doctor, I'm in trouble. Well, goodness gracious me. For every time that certain man was standing next to Sophia Loren, a flush came to her face. Peter Sellers (for he it was) made the pulse race principally because he was a doctor, and men of medicine are sex objects. Reassuring, authoritative physicians have an erotic pull much stronger than cognate professions, such as teaching or the law. Male doctors are the stuff of white-coated fantasy, stock Mills and Boon heroes; breathless women succumb to their soothing bedside manners, in fiction at least, as to no other masculine type.

That paragraph is couched in terms of male doctors because when members of the British Medical Association debate whether to change the rule of automatic suspension when charges of sexual relations with a patient are made, they are discussing a male problem. Women doctors are not prone to seducing patients: men occasionally are.

On the surface, even men having sex with patients is not much of a problem. The number struck off because they are found to have breached professional ethics by carrying on such a relationship is a small proportion of the total number of cases. But underneath lies a more profound question, not only for doctors, but also for the other great professions: how far can and ought they to stand out against the culture and stick with rules that may seem fussy and antiquated?

The case for changing the suspension rule is not strong. In the BMA's own words, there is an emotional inequality in the relationship between a doctor and patient which can easily lead to abuse and exploitation. Patients are, by definition, vulnerable, otherwise they wouldn't be in a waiting room at all: they are not well. The fact that words such as "seduce" are a little old-fashioned in describing most modern sexual relations is immaterial: whether they are seduced, or seducing, or mutually attracted, patients need to trust their doctor, as absolutely as any human relations allow.

A female patient might say: I have entered an affair with this man in full agreement; my consultation was a mere precipitating event. But the rules do not exist for her sake. They serve other patients' other doctors and the maintenance of a general confidence in propriety. Each and every GP belongs to a class of person who, empowered to press and prod other people's bodies, must never treat consultation as the antechamber to the bedroom. Patients have a uniquely individual relationship with their doctors, not encountered in any other profession, and anything that undermines their confidence in that relationship will ultimately undermine the doctor's ability to carry out his or her work.

If a doctor and a patient do embark on a relationship outside the consulting room, there is a simple remedy: change doctor. It may even – though



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probably rarely – be necessary to protect doctors against patients, enabling doctors to move patients from their register where their position is threatened by a patient's compromising behaviour.

The prohibition against medical liaisons is a good one, and members of the BMA should follow their leaders' advice and reject any change, even symbolic. However, they could ask for a little more flexibility on the part of the GMC. The GMC, of course, deals only with complaints. Doctors, too, are vulnerable; they enter affairs at their peril. Injuries to the heart can be more devastating than physical ailments.

The ending of an affair can be a time when, however consensual it has been, lovers are out for revenge, and the GMC is to hand. Its panels need the wisdom of Solomon to judge the nature of relationships. Clearly a doctor who has had a series of short-lived affairs with patients deserves harsher judgement than one who, at the ending of a grand and long-lasting passion, has been denounced, say, by a lover's husband. The GMC procedure exists, let us not forget, for the sake of the public's assurance. That can as easily be served by the fact that proceedings take place as by any particular punishment.

Breaches of ethics can and often should be marked by knuckle-rapping and fines as much as by suspension and the ultimate sanctioo of forbidding a doctor to practise.

In recent years, professions have been bated and battered. Government ministers never tired, it seemed, of quoting that passage from Adam Smith about how whenever butchers and bakers or apothecaries and lawyers got together in private they were conspiring against the public's interest. That attitude corrupted health and education policy, and thwarted the Conservatives' own efforts to reform the legal system.

Professionals should not be emancipated from constraints on their costs or measures of their effectiveness. But professional autonomy, including strong influence over their own ethical standards, is one of the cornerstones of a society that is not and is never going to be dominated by the state. Most of all, we entrust professional associations with the responsibility to ensure that their members can, indeed, be trusted.

That trust runs two ways. We extend our confidence to teachers, doctors, lawyers, engineers, architects. We give them our minds, our bodies, our possessions for repair, enlightenment or better disposition. We trust the organisations to which professionals belong (less so in the case of teachers, sadly) to regulate their members. We collectively assent to generous rewards and,

especially for doctors, the highest esteem. We expect in return performance and sincerity.

That warmth and esteem are precious. It is because of them that doctors are subject to tight rules about their conduct. When they debate the standards expected of their peers, members of the BMA should bear this in mind. The rules inhibit a small number of individual doctors from a kind of self-indulgence. That is a small price to pay for retaining the public's deep respect.

Safe as the pound in your trolley

Soon only Italian garages and certain designer-chef restaurants will be holding out. Elsewhere plastic will do nicely. But beware grand predictions about the cashless future. Remember how once cable was going to sweep terrestrial television away (the advent of digital channels has seen that off). And how E-mail was sure to do for letters (more pieces of printed mail are being sent than ever). The rise of plastic is not going to kill off the good old £ and p, because of the nature of transactions. Entire classes of spending – such as buying Lottery tickets – are affairs of cash. And what else but a pound coin could unlock supermarket trolley?

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Access to criminal records

Sir: Michael Howard's plans to give employers wider access to job applicants' criminal records ("Firms to access criminal files", 19 June) will breach their right to privacy and could lead to more cases of re-offending.

Although it is right that those who are seeking to employ people to work with children or vulnerable people should have access to the criminal records of job applicants, it is clearly not right for all employers to have access to all criminal records.

These would include very minor convictions, where there is no connection between what people have done in the past and the job being applied for. It would be a gross violation of their right to privacy and would seriously damage their chance to build a new life after having served a sentence.

Liberty, the National Council for Civil Liberties, is also concerned that some employers will not only have access to the details of convictions but to other information – even acquittals. Suspicion, titillate tattle and rumour should never be the basis for refusing employment.

JOHN WADHAM
Director
Liberty (National Council for Civil Liberties)
London SE1

Sir: Amidst all the furor over the White Paper on "Access to Criminal Records for Employment Purposes" ("Firms to access criminal files", 19 June), a fundamental point has been lost. While many people accept that children need special protection under the law they do not realise that there are at least as many "vulnerable" adults at risk of sexual and physical abuse. They are people who, by virtue of their disabilities, are dependent on the support of others.

Since the National Deafblind and Ruhella Association, represents people who are both deaf and blind. Because of the complex nature of the conditions which cause deafblindness, some deafblind people also have intellectual impairments and learning disabilities. For some, their lack of vocal communication means that they cannot appeal for help or explain what may have happened to them.

Shocking and unbelievable as it is, potential abusers are strongly attracted to working with such vulnerable adults. The White Paper does not recognise this and puts vulnerable adults in a lesser category than children by not allowing full access to all police intelligence.

This is wrong. Our society responds warmly to children in need, but sadly, we are ignoring the needs of other vulnerable people.

Spotting potential abusers and running services in ways which minimise risks are complex problems. Access to criminal records and police intelligence is only part of the solution. But it is an essential ingredient, which the White Paper fails to address adequately.

The legislation which follows must put this right.

DAVID HARKER
Managing Director
Sense
The National Deafblind and Ruhella Association
London N4



Growth and investment

Sir: In his reprise of the investment-economic growth theme, Gavyn Davies ("Capital reasons for extra public investment", 17 June) makes two errors, one of attribution and one of inference.

His first mistake is to attribute my views which I do not hold, namely that "investment is irrelevant for growth, or otherwise unimportant for government policy". In fact, it is wholly uncontroversial that a spontaneous rise in the ratio of physical investment to the gross domestic product would increase the UK's medium-term growth rate. What is at issue is the scale of that growth uplift and whether it persists into the longer term.

At the risk of diminishing returns, I will briefly restate my judgement. I believe traditional economic theory is correct in saying that the impact of extra physical investment on growth depends on the (modest) rate of return on capital and is ultimately transitory. By contrast, Mr Davies, writing under the influence of new growth theorists and the empirical work of De Long and Summers, reckons that the effect could be large and persistent.

This is his second mistake. Like those authors, Mr Davies would infer from the growth experience in Asia and Latin America that there are large growth gains to be had from extra physical investment.

This may be true for economies at that stage of development, but it is incorrect to suppose that the same would apply in the UK. There

is quite enough variation in growth and investment experience in the developed world adequately to test the De Long-Summers proposition that plant and machinery investment would yield large growth benefits in mature economies. Those tests, together with more detailed research of UK manufacturing industry, pretty decisively reject their new view in favour of the traditional proposition to which I therefore subscribe.

In his concluding remarks, Mr Davies realises that the policy implications are not as straightforward as "more capital investment is better than less" – one of the "common sense propositions" which he advanced in his first article. In the past, governments which have set out with an agenda to raise capital spending have often ended up subsidising inefficiency and creating other market distortions along the way.

I suggest that a preferable agenda, informed by recent growth experience in the UK, would be to set policies which encourage technological transfer, higher efficiency and better resource allocation.

I appreciate that the headline is less catchy than one that sings the praises of physical investment, but in this matter it is right not to pander to the priors of those who are unwitting victims of a 1960s mindset.

BILL MARTIN
Chief Economist
UBS Ltd
London EC2

Testing for inauthenticity

Sir: Bryan Appleyard, by referring to recent criticism about misattributions in various museums ("Beware of mad art disease", 20 June) adopts a complacent, laid-back attitude towards what is dismissively called "the rash of stories of new art errors".

However, by not taking seriously into account attempts at establishing the truth about a painting like Rubens' *Samson and Delilah* and by rubbishing as mad hysteria requests to apply a dendrochronology test, he forgets that Rubens' *Samson and Delilah* has cost the taxpayer a colossal amount of money (£2.5m in 1980); b) that even a cursory look at the relevant literature (references to which were provided by the sellers) raises serious doubts about its authenticity; c) that given the cost and the doubts, it is utterly incomprehensible that the National Gallery bought the painting without, as a matter of course, applying all scientific tests available – including dendrochronology.

As Mr Appleyard surely knows, although the dendrochronology test cannot with absolute certainty establish a painting's authenticity, it can certainly confirm its inauthenticity.

Professor NICOL MOUZELIS
The London School of Economics and Political Science
London, WC2

Don't spoil Britain's beauty

Sir: I'm sorry to read that "the countryside is under threat from advertising clutter" (19 June).

My wife and I, both Belgians, are on holiday, travelling by car all over Britain, as we have been doing for the past 15 years. The reason we keep coming is that we find your countryside so special and unique in its freshness.

This point always comes up when we are discussing driving through Britain with our friends on the Continent, many of whom like your country for this reason. Please don't let your natural beauty be spoiled.

JAN PEETERS
MIA PEETERS
Arlington, East Sussex

Sir: A. S. Hughes (Letters, 21 June), who advised the Government that

national controls on roadside advertising should be abandoned, dismisses fears of end-to-end hoardings in the countryside on the grounds that poster companies might not wish to site their hoardings there.

If that is so, why is such advertising

so common in France and the US?

Also, she ought to have known that the main source of roadside advertising in this country before the ban was not "poster companies" but petrol companies, who withdrew their hoardings voluntarily after a public campaign in the 1920s.

Dr AVNER OFFER
Reader in Recent Social and Economic History
Nuffield College, Oxford

Sir: It was, as memory serves me, Ogden Nash who, many years ago, penned a succinct comment on the abomination of roadside hoardings:

"I think I'll never see
A billboard lovely as a tree
Indeed unless the billboards fall
I'll never see a tree at all."

BRIAN BAXTER
Bournemouth,
Dorset

Sir: Dr Peter Hayes' suggestion (letter, "Rebellion at the birth of Ulster", 21 June) that every individual in Northern Ireland be given a choice between being subject to two parallel political, judicial and administrative structures run in parallel by Britain and the Irish Republic has a historical antecedent.

But many children under 10, and nearly all under five, cannot understand or relate to adult material. This is why they need a specialist children's service. This is why the largest concentrations of child viewers are still found

between the hours of 3.30pm and 6pm – the hours of children's programmes, followed by Neighbours.

This was the message received, and by my observation, welcomed, by the BBC governors at the seminar.

Dr MAIRE DAVIES
London E4

Parallel systems in Vanuatu

Sir: Dr Peter Hayes' suggestion

(letter, "Rebellion at the birth of Ulster", 21 June) that every individual in Northern Ireland be given a choice between being subject to two parallel political, judicial and administrative structures run in parallel by Britain and the Irish Republic has a historical antecedent.

Such a system operated in the former New Hebrides (now Vanuatu) which was administered as a co-dependency by Britain and France until the mid-1980s. Each country operated parallel police forces, law courts and administrative structures with everyone being able to choose one or the other.

It was cumbersome but worked tolerably well. Unfortunately the requisite imagination and willingness to make such a scheme work in Northern Ireland appears to be lacking in large sections of both communities.

Dr STEVE KISELY
Lecturer in
Public Health

Manchester University
Manchester

London E3

Home Secretary but never PM

Sir: To the splendid article ("Michael Howard, leadership contender", 20 June) listing many convincing reasons why he will never be Prime Minister, may I add another?

No Conservative Home Secretary has become Prime Minister this century.

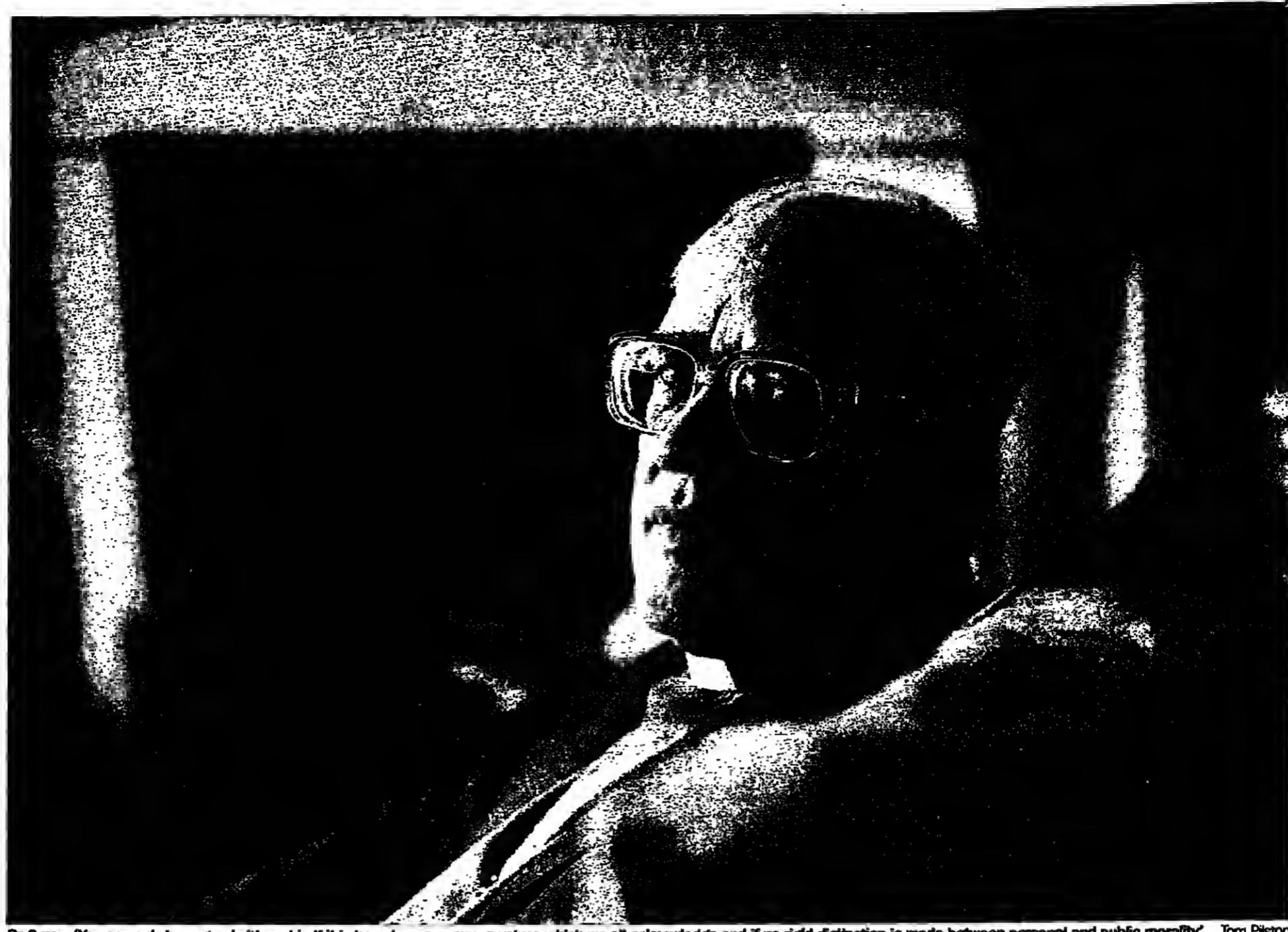
No Winston Churchill is not an exception: in 1910-11 he was a Liberal MP, serving in a Liberal Government.

Dr GRAHAM DON
London E3

14 interview

'We have lost the art of judging right from wrong... We are in danger of becoming a shallow society'

The Archbishop of Canterbury talks to Andrew Marr about his campaign for a debate on Britain's moral decline



Dr Carey: 'You can only have good citizenship if it is based upon common values which we all acknowledge and if no rigid distinction is made between personal and public morality' Tom Pilston

The Archbishop of Canterbury has decided to launch a national debate on the moral decline of Britain. He will begin in the House of Lords later this month. But what does it mean, this decline? And how, do church leaders, or any other kind of leaders, actually turn things around? Before he set off at the weekend for South Africa, George Carey gave the *Independent* an insight into his coming campaign.

He was in fiery mood. "Part of our problem today," he said, "is that because we have all become so accepting and charitable towards one another – and I am not disagreeing with that – we have, maybe, lost the art of judging what is right from wrong, or assessing what is deviancy as opposed to normality. We are in danger of becoming a shallow society, focused on consumerism."

Where, in the past, even people on the edge of the Church, like Thomas Hardy and George Eliot, went along with the general Christian consensus, "when you have a soci-

ety in which unbelief has become the norm and practising Christianity a minority pursuit, then you have to raise the question, what are the shared values that hold us together?"

He would wait to see whether changing morality was a trend, but "people will not be surprised if, as a Christian leader, I am going to be warning against that and actually questioning whether it is going to lead to the collapse of the kind of civilisation as we have known it."

Few pulled punches there. But wasn't he in the situation of political leaders, who jerked the old lever of authority and found that they no longer worked?

Dr Carey replied that he wasn't someone who looked back to a golden age before the Sixties, and he wasn't worried that authority was being questioned. "But we have lost a sense of community and I have been warning against the loss of sense of shared values that used to bind us together... whereas the politicians seem to think that what essentially matters is economic order and prosperity and consumerism." He was all for wealth creation, but "the real fabric of society is the spiritual and moral fabric, and this is the kind of currency that makes civilisations function."

For a long time Britain had been living off the legacy of the past which had been strongly Judaeo-Christian and a shared sense of values, but that legacy was now being questioned. The Church had a prophetic role in the country to say, "you can only have good citizenship if it is based upon common values which we all acknowledge and if no rigid distinction is made between 'personal' morality and public morality."

He was, then, one of those who thought that people's individual private lives affected their public role? The Archbishop was strongly critical of press intrusion and harassment but added, pretty firmly: "I regard morality as indivisible and what a person gets up to in public life acutely affects his personal life and vice versa."

The Archbishop accepted my point that morality seemed to change – once it was thought immoral to be homosexual, now it is thought immoral to be homophobic – but returned to what he called the common ground of the Ten Commandments and the teaching of Christ. I reminded him that he had used the phrase, "the privatisation of morality" to criticise modern Britain.

Was he advocating the renationalisation of morality? "Yes, yes. Or we can say public ownership of morality. We ought not to be ashamed of goodness, righteousness, honesty, duty... We've lost a language of blame and sin. The word 'sin' is now a word dying, leaving our vocabulary. Was it Oscar Wilde who said the distinction between man and animals is that man knows how to blush? I wonder if we've lost a sense of shame. And I think that's something we need to work on."

That, I suggested, made him sound like a communitarian (those American and British social thinkers who have attracted growing support both on the right and from leaders such as Bill Clinton and Tony Blair). He agreed: "Communitarianism is a form that unites all those interested in values – Christian and non-Christian – and therefore I think that's a very helpful debate going on. Sometimes I wonder mischievously if these words are really just saying the same thing

as what we meant by community and community values and so on; but we are talking about how we can create again a society based upon common values that we all own: and all share; and what they are showing, actually is the importance of all these elements – religion included – as part of the solidarity which binds people together."

This was all very well, but if political leaders were unable to get their messages over, how would he succeed? In the age of mass media, the internet and so on, he was off to speak personally to the House of Lords!

I got a remarkably frank response: "When I am at my most pessimistic moment, I sometimes wonder how anybody can possibly put back into society something which is central to its existence, and something which seems to be lost... I seriously doubt whether we can actually do any more than blow trumpets from castle tops and warn. But the other side of me says that actually there is such goodwill in society..."

"In the Sixties I experienced in my parish ministry some hostility. There was a lot of triumphalism around, which seemed to say, 'well we don't need this thing called faith.' That was changing; there was more openness. Later he returned to the problem and said: "When I am back to my most pessimistic moment, I could say you throw up your hands and walk away from it. You don't... I am like the salmon going upstream. You have got to fight against this."

So what, in practical terms, were his weapons for the fight? The Archbishop replied that he wanted to ignite a national debate. "It will require a partnership between the school, parents, government, the

media" to return Britain to the "good society, founded upon the principles which I regard as essentially Christian.

"It has to start with Sunday schools, with churches, in family life... When I talk to teachers, I notice their concern that they don't feel they have the support of families any longer. They are often caught up in the task of actually doing jobs that the parents should be doing, which is bringing children up to be moral... parents are also perhaps to blame in not doing their job of parenting..."

There was a role too for the wider community, though Dr Carey made it clear he thought that remoralisation had to be led by religious people: "Any religious person is going to say that when you work from the end of life, that is the thing that sets out the value... The challenge facing atheists is, have they got an ideological basis for ethical standards?"

"I would want to challenge them on that particular point. What is the basis? That is not to say they can't be good. Indeed they are; many of them, very good, very moral people. But I want to question whether there is a logic there, whereas religious people have obviously got a logic."

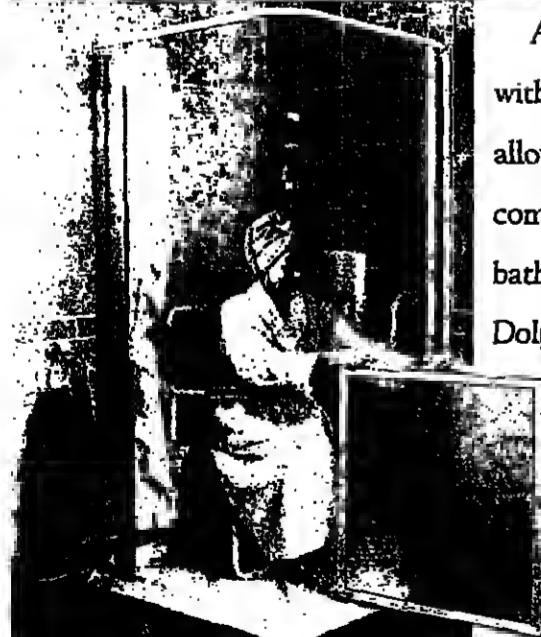
Since we were now talking about the moral condition of non-Christians, I asked him what he thought about the pre-millennium mood, the New Ageism and the rest of it. He acknowledged that "the mainstream churches are being challenged by New Age religions and Eastern religions, and maybe what we have got to face up to is that we have lived off the outside of our faith for too long... Maybe what we have got to learn is to return to the depths of faith."

He wants to use the anniversary next year of the coming of St Augustine to Canterbury in 597 and the death of St Columba on Iona in the same year to begin some pre-millennium crusading of his own. "You have got the great movement of the Celtic mission in the north and then in the south, the Latin Roman mission. I think we may well find we will be able to tap some of this spirituality... I think the Church must grab the opportunity of the Millennium, and indeed I and my colleagues in recent months have been reminding the Government that the year 2000 would have no significance if it wasn't related to the birth of Jesus Christ, and therefore is essentially a Christian anniversary, a Christian party to which everyone is welcome."

The Archbishop has recently announced that he is to visit the Pope in December. The Vatican is very keen on making the year 2000 a focus for Christian unity, but I suggested to Dr Carey that, while personal relations were good, the distance between Canterbury and Rome remained large.

"Yes... personal relationships are very warm, very wholesome indeed; and I have worked, and other people have worked hard, at securing that. And I have got the highest regard for the Pope as an individual, as a fine Christian leader." There had been some important theological agreements. But "where we are far apart will be on the infallibility of the Pope; some of the Marian dogmas, celibacy of priesthood, for example; and the ordination of women more latterly... It's going to be a long time before we can actually talk about the full visible unity."

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Gazza scores and we all make a meal of it

I have spent most of this Euro 96 tournament time in the depths of Canada, well away from the action. Not trying deliberately to avoid it, just going through with a family visit to relatives near Toronto which had been arranged long ago. Still, it was worse for brother-in-law Keith, whom we were visiting. He loves football and lives in Canada, which is a lot further from soccer action than anywhere in England.

"I hope you're not doing anything on Saturday morning," were Keith's greeting words, "but I've fixed up for you to watch the Scotland v England game at Roger's flat in Toronto."

Roger is a chef. So is Keith. So were Scott and Mike, the other two people present in the flat. I don't think I have ever been the only non-chef at a breakfast party before. I wonder if you can guess what chefs cook up for each other at breakfast time when nobody's looking?

That's right. Full English breakfast. Tomatoes, mush-

rooms, bacon, sausages, beans, etc...

Not much was said during the game, except when Scott asked me if I'd like some pepper. Roger was too busy cooking to watch. Scott and Mike, I think, had not seen a soccer game before, and were probably there mainly for the excellent breakfast.

So it was left to Keith and me to supply the running bar-bore commentary without which no game is complete, though the only comment I can remember now came from Keith just after Paul Gascoigne had scored his wonder-goal (side flick over Hendry, thunderous half volley) and flopped over on the turf in celebration.

When Gascoigne scores a goal like that," said Keith, "he's a genius. When he lies on his back like that, inviting all his mates to jump on him, he's a wally. Wouldn't it be wonderful if the rest of the team just walked back to their own half, leaving him lying there? But it will never happen."

During one of the duller

moments of the game, I mentioned to Keith a recipe I had seen in the *Radio Times* a few weeks previously, the name of which was so treedy that it had bemused me. Scared Scallops, Black Fettuccine and Sun-Dried Tomato Salsa.

Still using sun-dried tomatoes in England, are they?" said Keith, not unkindly. "Actually, it's pretty pointless using them in a salsa, as it would just drown it. Salsa is meant to be full of fresh, raw flavour not sun-dried ones. And anyway, a recipe like that involves very little cooking, if any. It's all assembly. But most restaurant cooking

these days is assembly, not cooking.

"Little tasty bits joined together, not real cooking... Bit like modern football," he added, as another Scottish move broke down.

I missed the England v Holland match but was back in London for the England-Spain encounter.

Unfortunately this clashed with our village fête – another bit of dodgy planning – where the madding crowd dissolved at about three o'clock as everyone went home to watch two hours of Anglo-Spanish stalemate. Everyone, that is, except Rupert, who is a chef and was on duty behind the village barbecue, dispensing burgers and baked potatoes instead of his more usual tomato coulis and sabayons and things...

"I hope I never see another baked potato in foil in my life," he said to me sadly, looking down at the well-carbonised griddle bars.

"Tell me, Rupert," I said, trying to sound well-informed, "do you think

restaurant cooking is more assembly than real cooking these days?"

"I'll tell you what I do think," he said, avoiding the question as effortlessly as a top politician. "I don't think it's beef that should be banished in this country. I think it's duck!"

"Duck? Why duck?"

"Because it's horrid, that's why I'm so tired of cooking duck. There's nothing you can do with it except undercook it pink or overcook it. I can't understand why people go on asking for it! This is just duck breasts I'm talking about, mark you. A whole duck is different, or even better a whole goose..."

From somewhere in the distance of the village enclosures broke out Spain, we learned later, had just lost penalties.

"What you do with a whole goose is this..." continued Rupert, but I was edging away by now.

"I don't want the entire Euro 96 tournament to be spent discussing the art of cooking."

مكتبة من المصحف

the commentators

An escape from the prison mentality

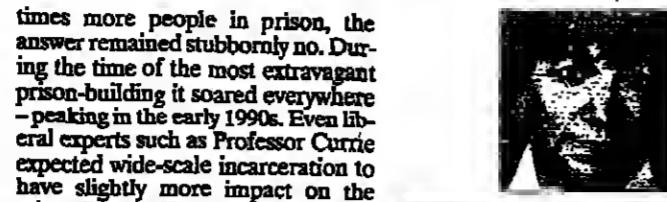
The Americans are now realising that building more jails does not reduce crime. There is a better way

Elliott Currie has been to Howard's End, and what a barren destination it is. The leading American criminologist, visiting Britain the other day, warned us that he has seen our penal future – and it doesn't work. Locking up hundreds of thousands more criminals has led to a social disaster which we are hurrying to copy.

Hurrying we surely are. Last week, Britain's prison population reached another all-time high – 54,994, well over 25 per cent more people in jail since Michael Howard became Home Secretary three years ago. He points to the down-turn in American crime figures of the last three years and ascribes it to a huge increase in the numbers of people locked up. It's common sense: the more you lock up, the fewer would-be criminals there are committing crimes. It is called "incapacitation". No, says Professor Currie, "there has been an extraordinary campaign of misinformation about the state of crime and punishment in the United States." And Britain is in the process of becoming its next dupe.

Here is the American crime story as he sees it. Since 1970, the US prison population has increased by 250 per cent. For a quarter of a century a deliberate policy of prison-building and locking up criminals has been pursued to the exclusion of virtually all other approaches to crime. The prison budget in many states has eaten up education while destroying virtually every programme designed to prevent the young turning to crime.

But did crime diminish? With five times more people in prison, the answer remained stubbornly no. During the time of the most extravagant prison-building it soared everywhere – peaking in the early 1990s. Even liberal experts such as Professor Currie expected wide-scale incarceration to have slightly more impact on the crime figures. The prison boom has been so extreme that in 1989 the state of Michigan alone opened one new prison every nine weeks.



POLLY TOYNBEE

The Justice Department cooked up figures to show 'prison pays'

But then crime did dip. However, says Professor Currie, the drop in US crime in the last three years has not followed from the incarceration explosion. The fall is much less impressive on close analysis, especially when you examine the relationship between prisons and crime state by state.

It turns out there is no local correlation between the amount of crime and the prison-building boom. Big prison populations go with big crime rates and low crime rates. Some relatively low-crime states have low lock-up rates, some have big prison populations. The city of New Orleans locks up five times more prisoners than in 1970 yet has four times more murders – at a time when there are fewer young people, the age group most likely to commit murder.

The national decline in crime figures is accounted for by what has happened in one or two big cities. Some 65 per cent of the national reduction is due to New York alone. This has to do with the ebbing of its crack epidemic which, like fever, seems to have reached a peak before falling away. The metropolitan economy

picked up and more jobs were created.

New York adopted a new policing strategy that took cops out of cars and targeted crime hot-spots. Grimly, another reason for the decline of crime is simple attrition. Many young blacks literally cancelled each other out – the average young American black is 200 times more likely to be murdered than a white British youth, usually at the hands of another youth. AIDS too has taken its toll among potential criminals and drug users.

There is one other key factor. That one, however, offers hope: a large number of young men identified in infancy as high crime risks were put into Head Start programmes – and in some cities the effectiveness of those schemes has finally been shown in the crime figures.

Meanwhile American prison policy

has cost As entire state budgets were swallowed up by prisons, the Justice Department cooked up some figures to show that "prison pays". It claimed that crime in America costs \$450bn while prisons only cost \$40bn – a bargain. But to create that first figure, huge notional costs of the pain and suffering to victims were counted in, as if real money had been paid out to them by courts in compensation. The pain and suffering of the victims of crime is real enough; that money is, alas, imaginary.

The key question is: how much does any given amount of crime-reduction cost? Professor Currie acknowledges that there is a connection between crime and numbers in jail. Incarceration works a little bit – but at what expense? Home Office research also suggests that prison works – but minimally. You get only a 1 per cent reduction in crime for every extra 25 per cent rise in the prison population. However, each extra prisoner costs around £24,000 a year. The head of the prison service estimates that we will need 25 new jails costing £60m to meet the increased sentences outlined in the Government's White Paper.

But if not prison, what is the best balance between crime prevention and cost? Professor Currie answers by pointing to child abuse and neglect. Intensive assistance to high-risk families has been proven to stop many battered and embittered children turning to crime. Nurseries also "work".

One American programme gave a year's highly structured teaching to pre-schoolers from high-risk families

in Detroit, for a few hours a day. The children are now 27, and compared with others from identical backgrounds, five times less likely to be criminals. For older children, even for young offenders, intensive structured treatment for relatively short periods makes big inroads into criminality.

But in the US there is no money for such things: budgets have been slashed to pay for more prisons. The fashionable political myth is that these social approaches never did any good – despite overwhelming and unchallenged evidence to the contrary. Social stuff is soft and Sixties – prisons are for the tough-minded. It is a latter-day version of know-nothingism for politicians and their media acolytes who prefer slogans to solutions.

But Michael Howard may not be long for this world. He might even, paradoxically, leave his Labour successor – Jack Straw – with a magnificent opportunity.

He should be allowed to keep the existing Home Office budget. Then he has to set about returning the prison population to its pre-Howard levels, where they were when Douglas Hurd made pretty offenders out into alternative sentences. The back of my envelope says 10,000 fewer people in prison gives Straw a handsome £240m a year to spend on proven schemes that do reduce criminality – some within the prison population, some among three-year-olds. He can be as tough on crime as Tony Blair – by pushing money into schemes that really do work.

Hillary seeks a guardian angel

The First Lady's tribulations have driven her to find solace on the other side, says David Usborne

Thank you Bob Woodward. Getting up yesterday was so much easier with the *Washington Post* to read filled with all those great excerpts from your trouble-making new book (aren't they all?) about Hillary Clinton and her mental tribulations. The First Lady communicating with Eleanor Roosevelt in a sun room on the White House roof? It's too much. I shan't even bother looking at the rest of the newspaper.

But Michael Howard may not be long for this world. He might even, paradoxically, leave his Labour successor – Jack Straw – with a magnificent opportunity.

In case the *Post* was not on your breakfast table, Woodward, with fellow journalist Carl Bernstein, exposed the Watergate crimes of President Nixon, is the author of a soon-to-be-published work, *The Choice*, which allegedly looks at some of the inner machinations of both the Clinton White House and of the Bob Dole camp as the 1996 presidential vote approaches. But it is bits about Hillary and her spiritual advisor, Jean Houston, that will sell the book. Ms Houston is codirector of the Foundation for Mind Research and believes that inner strength can be drawn from conversing with dead heroes. (Her own "personal archetypal predecessor", by the way, is the Greek goddess of wisdom, Athena). She first met the First Lady in 1994 when President Clinton summoned a group of motivational experts to Camp David and apparently has been a regular visitor to the private quarters of the White House ever since.

The good news for the White House yesterday was that Ms Houston has moved on from some of the methods she favoured back in the Sixties, like using LSD to help patients into a trance. "She tried to be careful with Hillary and the President, intentionally avoiding those techniques," Woodward writes. Even so, this book is unlikely to enhance public confidence in the First Lady. Some readers – though probably they dislike her already – will consider her downright potty.

Under Ms Houston's guidance, Mrs Clinton seemingly discovered the pleasures of "docking with one's angel", who, in her case, was Mahatma Gandhi and Eleanor Roosevelt, the wife of FDR. In one session, the First Lady eventually sought solace from Gandhi, explaining that he, like her, had been "profoundly misunderstood". In another, held in the roof-top solarium, Ms Houston apparently asked the First Lady to "open herself up to Mrs Roosevelt".

"Life throws a lot of crap at you," she is quoted as saying in one session with Houston. "When the inevitable crap comes, which will in anybody's life, and not just once but several times, it helps that there is a cushion of capacity there, and there is a structure that gets you up in the morning." If Hillary finds her cushion conversing with the dead, well, why not? Others might call it praying.



Hillary: psycho-babble nut?

The Internet is our most democratic medium. Governments should not restrict it

Freedom for surfers



ANDREAS WHITAM SMITH



An American court has examined the Internet, compared it to the older mass media – newspapers, radio and television – and found it uniquely valuable. The three judges sitting in Pennsylvania described it as "the most participatory form of mass speech yet developed". It represented an ideal, a medium in which there could be a free trade in ideas. The judges spent months listening to expert argument. Their decision spoke in the heightened terms of an historic ruling: "The Internet is a far more speech-enhancing medium than print, the village green or the mails." And as it is seamlessly global, the decision affects us. It is our Internet, too.

The court had been asked to protect the freedom of expression guaranteed by the American constitution. The plaintiffs, led by the American Civil Liberties Union, argued that the Communications Decency Act signed into law last February, making it a criminal offence to transmit any "indecent" or "patently offensive" material on the Internet, was unconstitutional.

Certainly, sexually explicit material does exist on the Internet, although almost all of it is preceded by warnings. Moreover older laws covering obscenity and child pornography remain fully operative; the US Justice Department has successfully used them recently to prosecute on-line cases. But beyond this, communication on the Internet can be, as the judges noted, unfiltered, unpolished and unconventional, sexually controversial and vulgar – "in a word indecent". It is into this new area that the Communications Decency Act extended the law.

The plaintiffs' objection was that it would prohibit the transmission of some literary, artistic and educational material of value to minors as well as adults. For this reason, the new law's opponents included Aids organisations, the Planned Parenthood Association, booksellers' associations, writers' groups, and single-issue pressure groups such as Stop Prison Rape and Human Rights Watch.

What did the Court admire so much about the Internet? One feature is that nobody owns, controls or dominates this global web of computers and computer networks, linked together by the world's telephone system. It is like the

roads in this country except that the Internet does not belong to anybody, it exists because the operators of computers and of computer networks in different countries have decided to use a common method or language for transferring data. They have been concerned only with how quickly a packet of data travels around the Internet and not with the content of these missives.

Secondly, the Internet is inexpensive and thus as open to minority interests as to mainstream concerns. For the price of a home computer and a modem linking it to the telephone system, you can connect to and thereby address the world. You could participate, for instance, in the 15,000 or so discussion groups or you could create your own Web site (a Web site comprises material assembled on your computer which any one of the 40 million people using the Internet can call up on to their own computer). Compare this with the effort, time and money required to get a book published, or a newspaper launched or a television service under way.

When challenged, the US Government said that providers of material on the Internet which

might be unsuitable could take steps rather as cinemas do, to prevent children reaching it. They might ask "visitors" to show that they had a credit card, which would rule out minors. Or they could tag doubtful material so that it could be filtered out by special software. The trouble with the first is that the credit card companies would not cooperate in verification unless a commercial transaction is involved. The drawback to the second is that it would be expensive for non-profit organisations to carry out even if the relevant technology existed.

Fortunately, without government prompting, ratings services and software applications are being designed to help parents limit their children's access to the Internet. A Platform for Internet Content Selection or PICS has been launched which provides a positive rating of Web sites. And there is software which will route users to only those sites and no others.

Taking all this into account, the three judges declared the Communications Decency Act unconstitutional. One of the judges said that the Internet may fairly be regarded as a "never ending worldwide conversation. The Govern-

ment may not ... interrupt that conversation."

Such a result could not be obtained under Britain's present constitutional arrangements. We have no entrenched right to freedom of expression. A bill similar to the Communications Decency Act could quite easily pass through Parliament and become unchallenged law. While the tradition of free speech in the United Kingdom is deeply rooted, in the United States it is sacred. That is why the US Supreme Court could declare 20 years ago that to lose freedom of expression, for even minimal periods of time, "unquestionably constitutes irreparable injury".

To arrive at the American level of safeguards, we would have to write Article 10 of the European Convention of Human Rights into British law. This states that "everyone has the right to freedom of expression ... without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers". But it adds that "this article shall not prevent States from requiring the licensing of broadcasting, television or cinema enterprises". Newspapers are not on this list of media where special safeguards can be employed. Nor, according to the American court, should the Internet.

Big engines make for happier motoring. Tax smaller company cars off the roads, says Jonathan Glancey

Why size really matters

Last month, Sir John Egan, chairman of British Airports Authority, spoke on the future of transport in 21st-century London. Facts and figures at his fingertips, Sir John put the boot into the car, attacking this monstrous form of selfish urban locomotion. The tax 'em, ban 'em brigade was suitably encouraged. Yet when the debate was over and the crowds dispersed, Sir John was swept away in a gleaming new, chauffeur-driven 4.0-litre Jaguar Sovereign. Sir John must be finding it hard to escape his past as the former chairman of Jaguar, makers of big-engined luxury cars.

Sir John's choice of transport was particularly odd, because he was all but siding on every point in the debate with new Labour's transport policy, whose key feature is a big tax on cars with big engines.

I, however, share Sir John's quandary. Not only do I have a swanky, air-conditioned Jag of my own parked around the corner, but I have been a shameless fan of the lithe mechanical cats from Coventry since I first saw a brand new 3.8-litre Mk2 saloon purring

new "London on Foot" campaign but also the proud owner of a second-hand Jaguar V12 Sovereign – 12 cylinders, 5.3 litres, 300 brake-horsepower, lashings of walnut and leather and a 37cwt body of sensually sculpted steel.

Of course the car, unbridled, is a monster. There is, however, every reason to lower road tax on cars like my own V12 Jag, while raising it on the nasty little sub-200cc executive buzz-boxes that scream past me at 100mph plus on the fast lane of motorways, driven almost exclusively by inadequate males (yes I know what they say about men who drive cars, like Jaguars, with long bonnets) in the death throes of terminal road rage.

Give a car a small engine, a big body, a danging Hugo Boss suit and a bootload of fish-paste samples, and its driver will thrash the thing within a square inch of its mechanical life.

The company car is a menace and

aging their cheap and cheerless tin boxes to scream in mechanical pain.

Driven in this unforgiving manner, the small-engined car develops a surprisingly dispassionate thwifl while emitting torrent of noxious fumes.

Inside – because small-engined cars

are nearly always kitted out with nasty-to-touch, vile-smelling and ugly plastics, and fabrics adapted from high street branches of building societies – drivers and passengers are offered no soothsaying protection from the racket raging under the bonnet.

For this alone – aesthetic torture – the superfluous company car should be taxed until its fan-belt squeals.

The danger is that those ignorant of the virtues of Bentleys and Jaguars,

Deusenberg and Hispano-Suizas will also tax these gentle giants off the road. If that day ever comes, I would still pay to visit a gallery (on foot, of course) displaying their magnificent engines, with Sir John Egan as knowledgeable company. No amount of horsepower, however, could drag me to a show of engines gouged from the likes of stressed-out Mondeos and Vectras.

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CITY & BUSINESS EDITOR: JEREMY WARNER

Clarke refuses cash to update job figures

DIANE COYLE

Economics Editor

The Chancellor is refusing to provide extra funds to implement improvements to the discredited claimant count method of producing the unemployment figures.

A monthly labour force survey covering 60,000 people has received top-level backing as an alternative. But to provide the new figures would add £8m to the cost of collecting the un-

employment statistics. Kenneth Clarke is believed to have told official statisticians that they can only start to collect the more realistic figures if the cost can be saved from elsewhere in their budget.

The Office for National Statistics is due to announce its decision within the next two weeks. Officials suggest that the most likely choice is a cheaper half-way measure between the current figures and the preferred alternative of a full

monthly survey of the labour market.

Tim Holt, director of the ONS, has always made it clear he shares the general view that the monthly claimant count measure of unemployment has been credibility by the number of changes made to the unemployment benefit system since 1979. Most of the changes, restricting the availability of benefit, have reduced the headline total.

A working party Dr Holt set

up last summer recommended conducting the more reliable quarterly survey measure of unemployment every month, to provide a trustworthy alternative. Government statisticians believe the move will be essential to restore public confidence in the unemployment numbers.

Other supporters of a monthly survey include the Royal Statistical Society and the House of Commons Employment Select Committee. Both have con-

cluded that the monthly claimant count is not widely trusted.

Even ministers acknowledge that there have been nine changes in definition which have affected the headline total, all except one reducing it.

The ONS has recently had to scale back planned improvements to its collection of figures on the service industries, which are only scarcely covered by official statistics despite accounting for two-thirds of the

economy, due to budget stringencies.

Insiders are convinced that if money is running short for such an important project, it will not be available for upgrading the quarterly unemployment measure to monthly.

Instead, monthly unemployment numbers could be calculated based on a small-scale survey to update the existing quarterly figures. This option would cost about £1m.

The scene was set for an an-

nouncement that would disappoint statistics-users in the latest edition of the ONS publication, *Labour Market Trends*. A special article described improvements in the geographical coverage of the unemployment claimant count, which, it said, would make that measure "an even more useful data set".

Whatever its limitations, the claimant count is timely, frequent, precise and instantly available, the article points out.



Too costly: Kenneth Clarke has refused NSO £8m

Hopes fade of tunnel deal this week

PETER RODGERS

Financial Editor

Hopes that Eurotunnel will be able to report a deal over its £280m debts at its annual meeting in Paris on Thursday have faded.

But negotiations with the company's top banks have never made progress in the last few days, leading to expectations that the two sides will be able to present outline plans to the rest of the banking syndicate next month.

Sir Alastair Morton and Patrick Ponsolle, the co-chairmen, will be under strong pressure from hundreds and possibly thousands of angry French shareholders packed into the Palais des Congres to give a progress report on the talks.

They may be unable to stay silent on progress, but at this stage the company is hoping not to have to give hostages to fortune by giving any detailed assurances.

It is thought that Eurotunnel and its creditors are in reach of an agreement that will hand more than 40 but less than 50 per cent of the equity in the company to its lenders, considerably more than the one-third stake that the company first pitched for.

In return for a lower immediate stake in the shares, the banks may be able to switch some of their debt into tradeable bonds and into convertible loans. The latter will be converted into equity if Eurotunnel fails to meet new financial targets.

The Eurotunnel share price has risen strongly over the last few weeks from 62p to 105p, valuing the company at just under £1bn, as shareholders banked on a favourable deal.

Among the items needing to be cleared up before a deal can be struck is agreement on lengthening the 57 year franchise, a move suggested to the British government by Jacques

Chirac, the French President. Although the UK was initially cool to the idea, it seems likely to back it as a cost-free way to the governments of giving the banks more certainty they will eventually be repaid.

Eurotunnel is also likely to win its demand for a lower interest rate on the debts, which will be rescheduled to delay capital repayments until the company is in a stronger financial position.

Sir Alastair and Mr Ponsolle

have been arguing strongly for a reduction in the cost of the loans which were fixed at the rates needed to finance a speculative construction project. Now the tunnel is completed and working, they argue, a lower interest rate is appropriate.

There was a clear indication last week that the negotiations will continue into next month, when Jean-Pierre Matci, president of the Paris commercial court, said he would decide soon on a possible extension of the mandate of the two mediators appointed by the court, Lord Wakeham and Robert Badinter. Their original appointment runs out at the end of June, and he said it would be continued if there were reasonable chances of a solution.

He also made clear that if talks failed and Eurotunnel went bust it would create a "legal monster", particularly if the banks try to enforce their contractual right to take over the tunnel operations from Eurotunnel, known as substitution.

Mr Matci said the mediators had tried to impress on the banks "that there have to be other solutions than invoking the substitution clause".

An outline agreement with the four major banks, NatWest, Midland, Crédit Lyonnais and Banque Nationale de Paris, will probably take until the end of the year to finalise. The agents may not announce proposals until they have the backing of the rest of the 25 lead banks.



Melody maker: Jeff Wayne plans to raise £4m for expansion at the UK's biggest producer of advertising jingles

AIM attracts three newcomers

A clutch of three new AIM flotations announced yesterday included Jeff Wayne Music, which will be the only pure music industry investment on the Stock Exchange apart from the media industry, writes Peter Rodgers.

The company is the UK's biggest producer of advertising jingles, with 8,000 ads under its belt, and is raising £4m in a placing that values the group at up to £13m. It will use most of the money to promote its new division producing and supervising soundtracks for businesses other than advertising. Durstacher is nominated broker to the issue.

Chemical Design Holdings is raising up to £1.5m in a placing on AIM, through the same two firms. It will be valued at about £5m. Chemical designs and supply software for pharmaceutical and biotechnology firms, for use in techniques that aid the production of large numbers of new compounds.

For every new drug on the market, 10,000 different compounds must be made and tested for biological activity. Clients include Hoechst Mariette Roussel, Glaxo Wellcome, Rhône-Poulenc Rorer, Pfizer, and Peptide Therapeutics.

The third flotation is Cirqual, which makes aluminium and

plastic extrusions and hopes to raise £2m-£5.8m by a placing through brokers Neilson Cobbold and advisers Price Waterhouse Corporate Finance.

The flotation is expected to value Cirqual, a group put together from existing businesses only last year by the investment group Gardiner Whalley and Baker, at £16m-£22m.

The chairman is Tony Garland, who oversaw the rapid growth of FKI, where he was chief executive in the 1980s.

The placing is to reduce borrowings and allow the company to make new acquisitions.

AIM celebrated its first anniversary last Wednesday.

Watchdog looks at complaints over Wace accounting policy

PATRICK TOOHER

The City's accounts watchdog, the Financial Reporting Review Panel, is examining complaints over accounting policies at Wace, the specialist printing and imaging group, that may have boosted the level of profits declared in the company's latest annual report.

It comes just a month after Wace, a former darling of the stock market, issued a profit warning that sent its shares into virtual free-fall, wiping almost £60m off the company's stock market value.

Wace's annual report, signed off three months ago by auditors Arthur Andersen, shows the company made £20.5m pre-tax last year, down from

£23.1m as restated for 1994. However, the panel is understood to be looking into the way a series of acquisitions and disposals made during the period were treated in the accounts. There is no suggestion of any impropriety.

The biggest of Wace's deals last year was Ferry Pickering, the packaging and folded cartons group bought for £26.4m in December. Documents sent to the panel highlight compensation payments made to Ferry Pickering's executive directors that appear to overstate Wace's profits in 1993 by £579,000. These payments, £34,000 higher than set out in an earlier offer document for Ferry Pickering sent to Wace's shareholders, were treated as fair value ad-

CLT set to join bidders for London FM radio licence

MATHEW HORSMAN

Media Editor

CLT, the Luxembourg-based broadcaster, is expected this week to confirm it is bidding for the highly contested London FM licence, offering a "pop" music format similar to its successful Atlantic 252 station.

The group joins a range of media companies angling for the licence, possibly the last FM frequency in London to be awarded along the conventional radio spectrum. Industry executives expect at least 20 applications to be lodged by the time the deadline expires on 9 July.

Among other hopefuls is Capital Gold, currently broadcasting on AM, whose backers hope to move the service to FM

in a bid to improve transmission quality. Capital, the dominant commercial radio company in London, would return its AM frequency to the Radio Authority if it wins the FM licence.

"Capital Gold is just not very satisfying on AM," Richard Park, group director of programming at Capital Radio, said late last week. "AM is just not the appropriate place for a Gold format." He said that the station's playlist of hits from the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s needed the higher standard of FM to win bigger audiences and compete effectively with BBC radio.

Other likely bidders for the London licence include Black FM, Choice, and Festival, a listings and entertainment channel backed by *Time Out*, the

London listings magazine. An early favourite in radio circles is XFM, which is aiming at a youth audience. Also likely to apply is Zone FM, a gay channel.

Under changes to the Broadcasting Bill, once being debated, radio companies will be allowed for the first time to hold two FM licences in a single region, following intense lobbying from companies such as Capital. The new freedom could encourage other holders of FM licences in London to apply.

The Authority, which is expected to take three months to reach a decision, uses three broad criteria for the award: financial viability, broadening choice, and enhancing fair and effective competition.

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GAVYN DAVIES

'Unless the next government can summon up even more political muscle to cut the share of the state than Mrs Thatcher managed, there will only be one option left - to increase the burden of tax.'

A basic arithmetic refresher for 11 Downing St.

Although the desperation for tax cuts within the Tory Party seems to have diminished a notch or two during the past few months (reflecting the recovery in the consumer sector, and especially in housing), I doubt whether the idea has really drawn on the backbenches that the long-awaited tax cuts could be tiny or even non-existent. With the possibility of a disappointing Budget looming in November, it may even be crossing the Prime Minister's mind that an autumn election might not be such a bad idea, as the outstanding Bagehot (alias David Lipsey) pointed out in his column in the *Economist* last week.

Bagehot's arguments are that the Government already risks being pushed by the Ulster Unionists, or even by its own unreliable supporters, into an election at a particularly bad moment; that the recent smack of weak government is not helping the Tories' political standing anyway; that the economy may look at its best this autumn, but then lose its gloss during the winter; and that John Major may feel an obligation in the national interest to end the present drift.

Granted, his party will make mincemeat of Mr Major if he loses the election, whenever it is held. But can any party leader voluntarily go to the country where the most likely outcome is annihilation, when the consumer is enjoying a strong recovery, and when the natural trend in government support towards the end of a Parliament has always been strongly upwards? Some estimates suggest that the underlying support for the Tories should now be rising by as much as a full percentage point per month as a result of improving consumer confi-

dence, and the normal upturn in government support as the election approaches.

Others take a more fatalistic view, arguing that the Conservatives are destined to get the same share of the vote whenever the election is held - say around 36-39 per cent, the hard core for Tory support in the post-war period.

But, even so, an October election would leave plenty of Tories claiming that another six months would have tipped the balance, or would at least have severely curtailed the Labour majority. And, what is more, they could be right. Hanging on to the bitter end may not be an attractive option, but it is the one which his party will expect Mr Major to pursue.

So a Budget probably needs to be planned for November. This is looking trickier by the month. The PSBR or budget deficit has been misbehaving for some time, which is unusual in a period of continuous economic growth. Last year, the eventual out-turn for the PSBR was £32bn, about £10bn more than the Treasury had expected a year earlier.

Around two-thirds of this £10bn was due to the mysterious disappearance of VAT receipts, which is still not well understood in Whitehall, but which must now be reflected in the projections for future years.

The worsening PSBR problems are likely to come into sharp political focus on 9 July. That is when the Treasury will publish its Summer Forecast, which will have

to come clean about the latest official projections for the budget deficit in the next two years. According to David Walton of Goldman Sachs, a combination of lower underlying tax receipts, slower economic growth and slightly higher public spending means that the path for the PSBR shown in the November 1995 Budget will have to be increased by about £5bn a year.

This would leave the likely projection in the Summer Forecast at £27bn this year, and £20bn next year. It would also delay the achievement of budget balance, which is Mr Clarke's long-term target. Furthermore, while this is likely to be the Treasury's forecast, the eventual out-turn is expected by most City economists to be much higher still. For example, Goldman Sachs expects the PSBR to

be stuck at around £28bn both this year and next (assuming a £3bn tax cut in the Budget).

Against this background, it is hard to see how Mr Clarke can justify making anything more than the same kind of minimal tax reductions which so disappointed the public last year. In both of the last two years modest scope for tax cuts has been found at the last minute by shaving public spending plans to reflect lower inflation, and by off-loading public investment plans to the Private Finance Initiative. Perhaps a bit more of this type of shuffling can be done again this year, but not much.

And the option of simply increasing the path for the PSBR on top of the slippage which has already occurred is out only on either. After all, the Chancellor has recently gone out of his way to emphasise that the objective of budget balance is a genuine one, and cannot be shifted around to suit the political convenience of the Conservatives.

At Westminster, there is an infinite well on both sides of the Chamber, with almost all MPs believing that, whatever Ken Clarke says today, he will find a way to make large tax cuts in November. I advise them to think again - this is not going to be a tax-cutter's year.

In fact, it is not going to be a tax-cutter's decade. The graph shows the likely path for the PSBR in the next three years, and compares it with some important benchmarks for fiscal policy. As we have noted already, the pre-

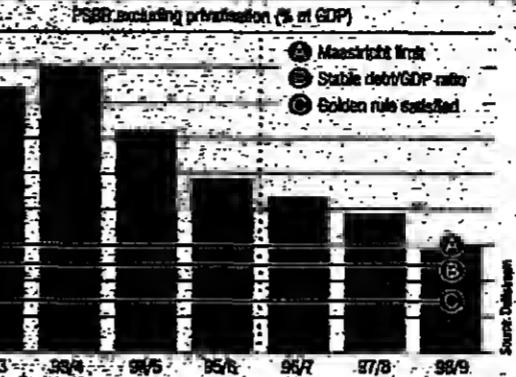
sent government's objective is a zero PSBR, but this will remain just a mirage in the next three years. If there is a change of government, Gordon Brown's fiscal objectives - first to stabilise the ratio of public debt/GDP, and second to ensure that the golden rule is satisfied by cutting the PSBR to below the total of government investment - are less stringent than the present Chancellor's. Yet neither looks likely to be attained before the end of the century. Even the Maastricht criterion may be out of reach over that period.

Naturally, all this will depend on whether the Government can keep tough control of public spending in the next few years. The present ambitious plans are based on the assumption that public spending will grow at about half the rate of GDP growth indefinitely into the future. But past evidence suggests that this will be quite impossible. A new paper on medium term fiscal policy by Stephen Hall, John O'Sullivan and Andrew Scobell of the LBS reminds us that, even in the era of Margaret Thatcher, the growth of real spending could not be held below that of real GDP, except by making large and unrepeatable cuts in public investment. All other areas of spending have stubbornly kept pace with GDP since 1979, despite herculean political efforts to cut the share of the state in national income.

Unless the next government can summon up even more political muscle to cut the share of the state than Mrs Thatcher managed, there will only be one option left - to increase the burden of tax.

And that piece of basic arithmetic will apply, whoever is next to hold the reins at No 11 Downing Street.

FISCAL HURDLES



Why Europe is sick man of the world

Carlo de Benedetti, chairman of the Italian Olivetti group, outlines a five-point plan for renaissance

Worrying signals are coming from the European economy. The sluggish recovery that began at the end of 1993 appears stalled. In many industries demand is faltering even before it reaches pre-recession levels. Germany has "technically" entered a recession; France, Italy and Spain are stagnating.

Estimates suggest that six months ago predicted European growth for 1996 at around 2.5 per cent have been halved. Unemployment levels, currently about 11 per cent - way above that of the US and Japan - are a permanent threat to prospects of social and economic recovery.

This premature slowdown of the economic cycle is a symptom of structural weakness. Europe is not keeping up: in a world of global competition it is falling behind, squeezed between traditional rivals and a growing number of new, aggressive players.

National disputes must not divert politicians' attention from the key problem: how to restore Europe's competitiveness within an international scene that changes daily.

On the economic front, two main factors have allowed us to fall behind: market globalisation and the unprecedented wave of technological progress.

On their own, European countries cannot tackle the

challenge of a global economy. The only practical solution is economic integration. Similarly, the only sound answer to the technological revolution is to adopt a new economic and social model, more focused on knowledge, communication and new technologies (the so-called "information society").

In terms of the velocity and magnitude of change, the European Union's reactions have been slow and weak. Even the Intergovernmental Conference, launched last March, is regarded with indifference by member states and public opinion alike.

This conference is miles from confronting the two crucial issues: the means by which a European government can be created and the framework for a

common defence and foreign policy.

What is needed is a "European renaissance" - a programme of concrete actions that will relaunch European integration and recreate the sense of "new frontier": a frontier for which commitment and sacrifices are worthwhile and in which everyone - individuals and businesses - can feel involved.

The goal is a new Europe, richer in knowledge, ideas, employment and development.

In 1992 the concept of a single currency promised a new phase in European integration. But the Euro of Maastricht has been unable to win consensus and enthusiasm.

Europeans fear the single currency will only bring tax

and cuts in welfare spending.

The plan for monetary union is stale. It must be reinforced by a programme of new initiatives:

- eliminate protectionism, monopolies, red tape and the regulatory blocks which kill entrepreneurship and curb the creation of new jobs;

- enhance flexibility and transparency in the labour market;

- promote new technologies and construct innovative infrastructure and service networks;

- encourage investment in education and training - young people being the most precious strategic resource;

- promote the birth of new enterprises: the main source of innovation and jobs.

To give this programme momentum, clear objectives with

precise deadlines must be set and progress should be gauged by benchmarking against global competition. Goals need to be measured in terms of their actual benefits.

The European Union's plans for the liberalisation of telecommunications are, I believe, a good example of what needs to be done. European policy on telecommunications has fixed terms and deadlines; it has guided and determined the decisions of national governments and it has created a sense of urgency in terms of government action, corporate decisions and public expectations.

Europe has little time left to decide its future. European citizens seem more conscious of this today than many politicians: I hope the debate in the future will belie this judgement, and provide a new platform for European development, ever more grounded in free markets, knowledge and innovation.

Change or die: Carlo de Benedetti sees need for radical reform

Photograph: Reuter

A wall of silence on Sumitomo

VIEW FROM TOKYO

As officials from Britain's Serious Fraud Office fly into Tokyo this week, the Great Sumitomo Copper debacle remains surrounded by a fog of unanswered questions.

It is understood the SFO will want to interview Sumitomo officials and the Japanese authorities but it was not clear whether they would meet Yasuo Hamanaka, the trader at the centre of the affair.

Their arrival coincided with news that gave a sombre new dimension to the investigations under way in the US, Japan and London. Police may reopen inquiries into the death in a house fire in Vermont five years ago of Paul Sculley, a copper trader who was one of the first to complain to the authorities about Yamanaka's activities.

Some reports suggest that Sumitomo's losses could more than double to \$4bn as copper prices continue to tumble. But the essentials of what is known about the case so far could be written on the back of an envelope. Mr Yamanaka's deals were known to no one else, according to Sumitomo, except for a mysterious unnamed employee who quit the corporation eight years ago.

The company remains in sound shape, and is presently investigating the case, along with regulators in New York and London, and the Serious Fraud Office. This much was revealed in a press release put out by Sumitomo after close of trading in New York on 13 June. Since then almost nothing substantive has been added to the account.

How exactly did Mr Hamanaka conceal his losses? How did he fund them and, most importantly of all, who gained the money which he lost?

Sumitomo is not talking. British diplomats in Tokyo are not talking. The Japanese ministries, who take an overbearing close interest in the conduct of their companies when times are good, insist that it is none of their business.



Yasuo Hamanaka: Disappeared into a fugitive limbo

are revealed to the kisha club weeks in advance; then follows a period of intense horse-trading as the company press offices lobby for their announcement to be published more prominently than those of rival corporations.

After consultation with their editors, the reporters return with a proposal detailing the page, column and prominence to be given to each news release, which will be published almost verbatim. "If it doesn't appear exactly as agreed," says the press officer, "there are complaints and tantrums. It's unbelievable: these reporters have to apologise and give an account of themselves to the PRs."

Japanese reporters enjoy unprecedented access to corporate goings on. But they are tolerated only on condition that they never report anything remotely controversial or damaging.

As conspiracies go, it is an informal one, depending more on the instinctive caution and self-censorship of individual reporters and editors than on any conscious suppression of facts - Japanese reporters I spoke to last week seemed as puzzled as anyone about the dearth of investigation into Sumitomo.

But there's something fishy about it, all the same. When Daiwa Bank suffered a similar \$1.1bn trading loss in New York last autumn, the story was tracked avidly in Japan. But the dodgy dealings in that case were carried out entirely overseas, by a long-term Japanese expatriate who had made America his home.

Yasuo Hamanaka, by contrast, was at the heart of the Tokyo financial establishment, and operated out of one of the corporate citadels of Japan Inc. Perhaps - it is no more than a suspicion - this accounts for the curiously lethargic among the business media. Either way, when and if the truth finally comes out, it will be in spite, not because of, Japan News Inc.

RICHARD LLOYD PARRY



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OPERATING HIGHLIGHTS

Ireland

- Ireland's largest newspaper publishing Group.
- Increased contribution from publishing operations.
- Share of national newspapers' advertising revenue increased.
- Second largest multi-channel television signal distribution company (Princes Holdings - 50% owned).
- Launch of British edition of The Sunday Independent.

New Zealand

- Purchase of 45.15% interest in Wilson & Horton, the largest newspaper publisher in New Zealand by Independent Press Limited (A joint venture with Ligon 157 Pty Limited).
- Investment in Radio New Zealand Commercial, largest radio network controlling 41 radio stations, which account for 47% of the total radio advertising spend.

Australia

- Australian Provincial Newspapers net profit increases 24% to AS\$4.6 million (25% indirect holding).
- Joint venture formed with Clear Channel Communications Inc., the largest owner of radio stations in the US, to operate its radio network.
- Busac UK (50% owned) expanded through the acquisition of Metropolis.

Portugal

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SCIENCE

Lethal shockwave from an island in the sun

Volcanic activity on the Canary Isles could send a tidal wave to devastate Florida. Phillip Henry monitors the changing shape of La Palma

It reads like the plot from a disaster movie. Florida is devastated by a tidal wave tens of metres high. The destruction and loss of life is immeasurable. The wave which caused so much devastation crossed the Atlantic in just a few hours, unseen until it reached the American coast. Its source is an unstable geological fault on the Canary Isles, more usually thought of as an idyllic holiday destination of thousands of European tourists than as the cause of disaster.

To ensure such a scenario remains in the realms of Hollywood, a group of British scientists recently travelled to the Canaries. By monitoring the fault which threatens to create the tidal wave, they hope to predict any hazard long before it could happen.

In the middle of the ocean, these waves of mass destruction - called tsunamis - are almost invisible. Only when they reach the shallow waters around coasts do they become huge breakers.

The ruin caused by even a relatively small one can be apocalyptic. When the Krakatoa volcano blew itself to pieces in the last century, a tsunami six metres high killed 30,000 people.

Tsunami can also be generated

when a huge landslide falls into the sea. This has never been seen in historical times but scientists have now identified the island of La Palma as a potential hazard.

"There is a danger that the side of the volcano facing west may fall into the Atlantic," says Professor Bill McGuire of the Centre of Volcanic Research in Cheltenham, who was part of the recent expedition.

"It could literally happen during the next few weeks or months or years," he said. "Equally, it could happen 100 years or more into the future. The island is very unstable and this is something which could happen fairly soon."

La Palma is not only the steepest island in the world but has also been the most volcanically active of the Canary Isles in the past 500 years. There have been two eruptions on the island this century alone - the last one was in 1971.

The volcanoes themselves do not present much danger. La Palma lava moves so slowly that most people could easily outrun it, so there is no cause for anxiety to the many tourists who visit the island. The real danger lies in the possibility that an eruption might trigger the collapse of a volcanic ridge which is unsound.

The problems started when an eruption in 1949 caused several

cubic kilometres of rock to slide a few metres towards the sea. This also opened a two-kilometre-long fracture which can quite easily be seen to this day.

There are not only fears that a future eruption would cause the rock to move again, but that next time, the landslide will not stop. If this happened, the resulting tsunami would be catastrophic.

"There have been three of these collapses in the history of the island," says Juan Carlos Carrasco of the Spanish National Research Council. Not only does the landscape bear the scars of these cataclysms but submarine photos show rock from the peaks of old volcanoes far out to sea. "Another collapse is impending. The only way to prevent this hazard is to study the island closely."

By monitoring the change in shape of the mountainside, the team hope not only to discover if the western flank is slipping due to gravity but to predict if the sleeping volcano is growing restless. Before eruptions, volcanoes always swell. This swelling may be imperceptible to the human eye. Only by surveying the shape of the ground with sensitive instruments can small changes be detected.

The team of scientists used a sys-

tem called electronic distance measuring (EDM). By bouncing an infra-red beam off a mirror on another ridge of the volcano and timing how long the beam takes to return, the EDM can be used to measure distances to an accuracy of a few centimetres per mile.

In late 1994, scientists set up a network of stations on the mountainside and accurately measured the distances between them. After one and a half years, they returned to measure the network again. If the distances between the stations had become greater over that period, this would suggest that either the fault had slipped or the ground was bulging as molten rock inflated the volcano.

For the moment, results show there has been no movement. While the rest of us might breathe a sigh of relief, the measurements are highly valuable to the scientists because they give them a "baseline", illustrating the behaviour of the volcano under normal conditions.

Should future studies reveal that the volcano has deviated from this, the prospect of the east coast of America being flooded by a wave from the other side of the Atlantic may turn from fiction to horrifying reality.



On the slide: La Palma's volcanic ridge may be ready to collapse

Photograph: David Parker/SPL

Six months on from its triumphant arrival at Jupiter, NASA's spacecraft Galileo is about to send back its first pictures of the giant planet and some of its moons, including the most detailed views ever seen of a moon that is almost as big as the planet Mars.

Galileo swings past Ganymede, the largest moon in the solar system, early on Thursday morning. It skims a mere 844 km over the surface - 70 times nearer than the previous closest encounter - with Voyager 2 in 1979. Galileo would be able to make out individual buildings on Ganymede, if any existed.

The main scientific return will be to understand this moon's peculiar geology. The pictures sent back by Voyager 2 reveal that 40 per cent of Ganymede's surface is covered by large dark patches, strangely reminiscent of our Moon. There are numerous craters, blasted out by cosmic impacts, although the craters of Ganymede are surprisingly flat. Geologists believe the walls

have slumped because the surface is made of a mixture of rock and ice, which can gradually flow (like a glacier on Earth) and flatten out under its own weight. The largest dark area is named Galileo Regio. Fitfully, the spacecraft bearing the same name will be homing in on this region.

Its cameras will also be investigating the strangest feature of Ganymede - the paler areas lying between dark regions. Voyager's cameras showed that they consist of long grooves separated by parallel ridges. Some ridges are 700 metres high, and stretch for thousands of kilometres. Geologists call these areas "sulcus", meaning a groove or furrow.

The sulcus areas probably formed as the dark regions moved apart. On Earth, a similar stretching of the crust has

created the parallel mountain ranges of Nevada and Utah. But some geologists support a different theory - that the sulcus was caused when ice below Ganymede's surface melted, as the water escaped upwards, the surface collapsed into wrinkles.

As Galileo was set to take a preliminary set of pictures on the frame this week, Galileo will be taking more distant views of Jupiter's other big moons - Io, Europa and Callisto, and its first close-up views of the planet. Until now, Galileo has been travelling blind.

Mission controllers have kept the cameras switched off so far because of two different problems. The umbrella-like main antenna, which sends radio signals back to Earth, failed to open properly as Galileo sped toward Jupiter, so pictures can only be sent back at a very slow rate by a smaller

antenna. Galileo must store the pictures on a tape recorder and gradually send them back to Earth over a period of weeks. The images snapped this week, for example, won't be coming back to Earth until late in July.

Even though Galileo was blind as it swept past Io last December, it has provided interesting news about this moon. Nasa scientists have now analysed in detail how Io's grav-

ity disturbed the spacecraft's path, and found it must have a very dense core. It probably consists of iron, like the Earth's core, and there are hints that Io's core may also be generating a magnetic field. If so, it is the first magnetic moon to be found in the solar system.

Over the past few months,

Nasa's researchers have also been re-analysing results from the probe that Galileo dropped into Jupiter's atmosphere last December. They show that Jupiter has powerful winds blowing not just at cloud-top

level, but reaching deep into its interior. Unlike Earth's weather, which is driven by the Sun's heat from above, it seems Jupiter's weather is controlled by heat coming up from deep in the planet's hot centre.

What's Up

With Jupiter in the news, take a look at the giant world for yourself. It's closest to the Earth this year on 4 July, shining more brilliantly than any star, low in the south during the late evening. (The outer planets Uranus and Neptune are

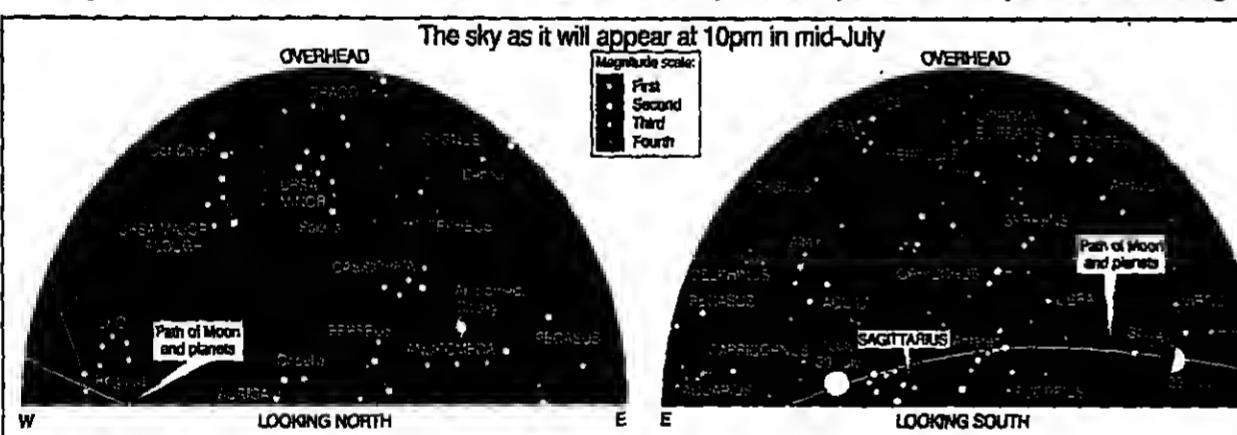
also at their closest and brightest this month, but you won't see these with the naked eye.)

With a pair of binoculars held steadily, you should be able to make out Jupiter's four biggest moons. They appear as tiny specks of light, endlessly circling the parent world. At the beginning of this week, the outermost one, Callisto, is to the left of the planet, with huge Ganymede further in. By the weekend, Ganymede lies to the right of Jupiter, with Callisto further out on the same side.

A small telescope will give

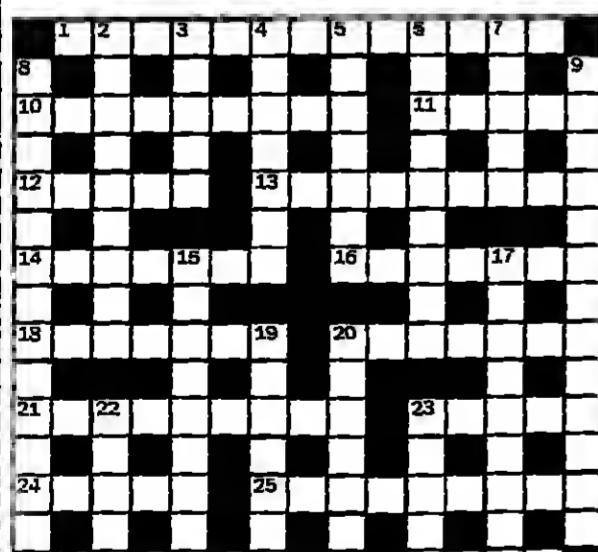
A close-up look at the biggest moon of all

Space probe 'Galileo' is going low to examine one of Jupiter's satellites. By Heather Couper and Nigel Henbest



THE INDEPENDENT CROSSWORD

By Crys



ACROSS

- The art of making one's mark? (13)
- Trite place in capital edition? (9)
- Fruit making person green? (5)
- Miss letter from the Spanish notion? Precisely? (5)
- Article about one's public relations for deaf person? (3-6)
- For some clientele VAT expected to be put up? (7)
- Rough house by awfully loud motorway? (7)
- 24-hour race organised in enlightened concern? (3-4)
- Thin person dispensing about a pound? (7)
- Terribly eager and intended to speak of compact? (9)
- Nosey man in Netherlands? (5)

DOWN

- Kind of decree which includes English Japanese immigrant? (5)
- Spain's azulejo turned out the best? (5)
- Hateful person has cat's-paw which should not be eaten? (9)
- Lets her out on good condition - a fair thing? (6-7)
- Means of putting backbone into woman? (9)
- Something at present seen on road round new mountains? (5)
- Nor quite the colour of the Cullins? (3-1)
- Comprehensive bordering? Perhaps not? (2-5)
- Best anaesthetic for me? (6,3)
- Meeting's among the clerisy no doubt? (5)
- Cycle shop tycoon? (7-6)
- Tries being uncivil? (5-8)
- An inclination to accept poor team's decline? (9)
- Tool needs to be changed for magnetic rock? (9)
- English reader whom politicians court? (7)
- Disappointment of group support? (7)
- Artist is taking Ecstasy to get lift? (5)
- Nosey man in Netherlands? (5)

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